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The Week

THE Russian conference promises to materialize. The Russian Government will send representatives; the Ukrainian Soviet Government will do the same. With the conference once assured, the anti-Bolshevist forces can scarcely afford not to send representatives also. America, Britain, France, and Italy have named their delegates. The technical preparations are being taken in hand. The stage seems to be set for a return of the prodigal son with a promise to pay his prodigal father's debts and for a reopening of darkest Russia to communication and world comity. Everything points to an opportunist temper in Moscow, ready to do business, on such terms as may be possible, with the rest of the world—pending further developments in countries as yet un-Bolshevized. The American nominees stand out in startling contrast to the Canadian Premier and the group of European delegates, made up of diplomats and military men. The first impression is almost one of *opéra bouffe*. But William Allen White is a shrewd and friendly soul and may serve the country as John Lind served it in Mexico or as Benjamin Franklin served it in Paris. Professor Herron's appointment seems more questionable. He is a red rag to the conservatives and it is doubtful how far he enjoys the confidence or esteem of those in the other camp. But if he has been getting acquainted in Switzerland with the social currents of present-day Europe and has convinced President Wilson that he is qualified to understand the Russian situation he may be a better choice than he would at first appear.

JUST as we were becoming accustomed if not resigned to tales from Russia of terror and sudden death, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the suppression of the bourgeoisie, and the collapse of industry, of mob rule and the brigandage of the Red Guard, we are suddenly obliged to adjust our minds to new and more startling charges. The New York *World*, a journal not generally in the habit of lending its columns to the propagation of anarchism, has published a series of cable dispatches from Berlin, written by Robert Minor, well-known in New York radical circles as a young man of frankly anarchist sympathies. Robert Minor is just out of Russia with the latest Bolshevist outrages on the tip of his pen. The Bolsheviki have not killed off the bourgeoisie, it appears. On the contrary, members of the middle class are serving under the Soviet Government as directors and managers of the leading industries, which are all publicly owned. Worse yet, the Soviets have begun to function as sober organs of government, and disorder has well-nigh disappeared. "The initiative," reports Mr. Minor, "which used to be exercised in the streets, has been transferred back to governmental halls. Disorder has practically ceased within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the Government. When the red flags wave in Moscow all is harmonious and official and well-policed." The members of the Red army, according to Mr. Minor, are submitting to discipline with an unaccountable willingness. The officers, drawn not only from the former upper class, but from the "Chicago and New York sweat-shops" as well, are generally respected and obeyed. When the Bolshevist army, singing the Internationale, swung into Minsk, "the working classes rose to meet the invader with open arms." Mr. Minor cannot understand it. It is easy to appreciate that an honest anarchist might well be irritated by a disciplined, integrated Government; but what is the rest of the world going to make of this last bit of anti-Bolshevik propaganda?

UP to the opening of the new year the Karolyi Administration, installed by the peaceable revolution of October, and given shape by the formal proclamation of a Hungarian republic on November 17, seemed to be succeeding. It was supported by sentiment against Germany and against the war, which Karolyi had always opposed, and bourgeois and Socialist elements worked together in a coalition Cabinet. Gradually, however, the violent seizure of a large part of Hungary's territory by her neighbors, and the coal famine and stoppage of industry that ensued, tended to turn feeling against the Allies, and created trouble for the Government from two sides. On the one hand, a reactionary movement headed by General Lang looked to union with Germany; on the other, a threatening Bolshevist movement created disturbances in the capital and elsewhere. Karolyi proposed vigorous action against both adversaries. A Cabinet crisis resulted. The Socialists hesitated to coöperate longer, and the bourgeois parties appeared to lack the strength to control the situation alone. The arrival in Budapest on January 9 of the Allied Commission to study conditions in Hungary may have helped to clarify the situation. In any case, by January 20 the Socialists had agreed to continue in a coalition, and a new Cabinet had been formed in which they held the portfolios of the Interior, War, and Public Education. A constituent assembly had previously been decided on and a liberal electoral law passed, but with only five out of sixty-four counties free from enemy occupation an election was impossible. The Cabinet accordingly appointed Karolyi Provisional President of Hungary. A progressive income tax rising to eighty per cent. has been imposed and sweeping agrarian reforms have been instituted. In an agrarian country of large estates, like Hungary, land-holding presents the crucial economic problem. The situation evidently continues difficult, with the soldiers reported quite out of hand and the Allies pressing for anti-Bolshevist measures.

THE estates of Count Karolyi were reputed to be the second in value in Hungary, surpassed only by those of Prince Esterhazy, and worth thirty million dollars. He has now announced the distribution of this vast property in conformity with the law recently passed by the Hungarian Assembly. When he was here in 1914 he said: "I will not give my estates to the Magyar people because I want the Magyar people to come and take them away. I won't give them to my people and I won't bribe them. The land rightfully belongs to them—when they awaken to this, they will go and seize it, and as far as I am concerned they are entirely welcome."

EDUCATION LIBRARY

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THE handling of the colony question at Versailles leaves much to be desired. The ideal thing would be international (not inter-Allied) treatment of the problem as a whole with a view to the three chief considerations involved: the welfare of the natives and other permanent inhabitants; the proper exploitation of natural resources; and the open door to capital and enterprise under provisions safeguarding the first two interests. Instead of this we have a council of the victors disposing of the spoils of the vanquished. Apparently it was not even suggested that Germany should be paid for the colonies; still less was it considered whether she had any right to retain them. The unsubstantiated charge that Germany has been a sinner above all others in the cruel treatment of the natives has served as a sufficient popular basis for refusing that. On the other hand, the proposal to have colonial territory administered under the mandate of the league of nations, in so far as it promises any effective safeguards against abuse, is naturally anathema to the imperialist exploiter. At the least it may serve as the thin edge of the wedge; for happily, a concession like this, intended as mere lip service, once it is given formal legal recognition, has a way of serving as a valuable taking-off point for the subsequent reformer.

AS soon as the war was over the various Governments maintaining special bureaus in the United States hastened to call their officials back. Being a heavy expense, and having done their duty faithfully and efficiently, they no longer served a practical purpose. First the English went; the Belgians and the French were close seconds; then the small Servian bureau closed its doors. Several thousand foreign officers and employees have departed for their native shores. Only the Russian group furnishes an exception. Russia has been out of the war for almost two years. She is ostensibly represented in America by an Embassy which actually represents nothing at all, being a relic of the long-past days of Prince Lvoff and Kerensky. The Embassy stands for nothing tangible, and its official status is most questionable. None the less it maintains many offices and a vast staff of extremely well-paid clerks. It has at its disposal the materials ordered by the old Imperial Government and never shipped for lack of cargo space. These goods are being sold, and the revenue keeps the Embassy well supplied with funds. Of the ultimate destination of this money (and it is a question of many millions) we know nothing. It is said that ninety thousand dollars were used to print the millions of Russian banknotes which were to be forwarded to the Kolchak Government. But what is going to become of the rest? And how long is our State Department going to continue maintaining relations with the thoroughly discredited Embassy responsible for the scandalous affair of the rubles?

THE British "National Council for Civil Liberties," which is to hold its annual meeting in London this month, apparently represents a larger constituency than the American "National Civil Liberties Bureau," since it has 1,400 affiliated societies, including not only local councils for civil liberties, but labor bodies such as local labor parties and trades councils. It also apparently deals with a larger field, not confining its interests to the work—very necessary there as here—of trying to secure for persons under arrest or trial, or those suffering punishment, the elements of fair and even of legal treatment. It is not surprising that England, with her longer and stronger tradition of constitutional liberties, furnishes a wider and more understanding response to the appeal for fair play, but American experience shows how much patient work of education is ahead for us. Take as a single example the fact that there is no public reprobation of the policy of holding up mail soliciting defence funds in political or other trials, and of seizing moneys contributed to such funds. Of course if we had fully achieved democracy we should so arrange our judicial procedure that the state would meet the expenses of a complete defence, including provision of witnesses, court records, and all other necessities, just as it now meets the expenses of criminal prosecution. But until this fundamental safeguard of personal rights—free justice—is achieved, the poor should at least be allowed to contribute their pennies for one another's defence. The silence of the men recently condemned at Sacramento, little noticed and still less understood, stands a costly challenge to American justice.

FROM the January bulletin of the secretary of the British Council above mentioned we clip the following item:

> Men of military age, whether in or out of the army or navy, need to watch the War Office and its group of allied departments just at present. The soldiers are, apparently, not to be discharged from the army at all, but are to be kept in Reserve Z so as to be called up to fight against the Russian, Irish, or any other republic the Government dislikes, or to quell industrial unrest. The principal device by which the men are being induced to sign on for this extended and indefinite period of service is the offer of an early release in consideration of their agreeing to take work under a particular employer and accept liability to recall to military duties at any time. If they do not sign, the date of their release seems to be remote. Others are, I am told offered three months' leave and a gratuity if they will serve for four more years.

Recruiting is suspended, but there has been great dread that permanent conscription will be introduced. Such reports may cast some light on the military and industrial unrest in Great Britain.

WHAT books our soldiers abroad want, or ought to want, is suggested by the list of titles of the reading furnished for use in connection with the schools established by the Army Education Commission. This list, which has just come to hand, is the work of the American Library Association and bears the imprint of its European headquarters in Paris. Such a list is bound to surprise any one examining it, alike by its contents, its omissions, and the distribution of emphasis as indicated by the stars that mark those books regarded as belonging in every library and bought by five hundreds or thousands. Yet he would be a rash man who should feel himself able to provide a better selection of 880 titles for this special use. Naturally and properly, practical and technical subjects from advertising and aviation to vocational guidance and wireless telegraphy claim much space. It is striking, however, that there is no division for any technical military subject such as strategy, tactics, or military history. It may be that these subjects are provided for through other channels. History, geography, travel, and biography are, of course, represented, the last rather scantily with less than thirty starred titles rather oddly assorted. There is no division of fiction, but some sheer recreation does happily slip in under the head of "literature: poetry, essays, etc."—Dumas, O. Henry, Mark

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Twain, and a few other old friends. Thirty poets are included. Of these Robert W. Service alone has the honor of four starred titles. About a third of the others are also what we might call new men—Brooke, Seeger, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Eugene Field, Vachel Lindsay, Masters, Markham, Lomax and Robert Frost.

SATURDAY saw the defeat in the Senate of Senator Borah's amendment to the Post Office Appropriation bill by which it was sought to repeal the sections of the Espionage Law giving to the Postmaster General authority to exercise censorship over mail matter. This may be the Bunker Hill of the new fight for American liberty—a defeat in form but a forerunner of victory. The next trial of strength follows immediately. On Thursday Senator France of Maryland introduced a bill, more complete and not so easily opposed on technical grounds, to repeal the Espionage Act and acts amendatory thereof. Senator France is on the right track. The Espionage Act should be, not amended, but either repealed outright by legislative act or, yet better, annulled by judicial decision. Unfortunately, the first two cases under it to reach the Supreme Court on appeal have not been decided on their merits. The Solicitor General, by confessing error and moving for reversal of judgment in both cases, prevented the Court from rendering a judgment which, if unfavorable, might have upset the legality of many convictions, including those of Eugene V. Debs, Rose Pastor Stokes, and Kate Richards O'Hare. It is doubtful if since the Fugitive Slave Law there has been a statute so bitterly hated and above all so injurious as the present Espionage Law. Senator France is now giving to liberal opinion in America the chance to express its convictions.

A REMARKABLE story of a general strike in the Fort Leavenworth Military Prison appeared in the New York *World* of February 6. It carries a lesson that should have the prompt attention of the military authorities and of the American people as well. We have from time to time called attention to a few of the abuses and cruelties marking the administration at Leavenworth, but only a detailed study of the large mass of evidence available can give an adequate idea of the stupid folly that has characterized it. The War Department stubbornly and stupidly insisted on sending to Leavenworth a large number of intelligent, high-minded, and determined men under sentence as conscientious objectors, thus making it certain that the abuses in the prison would be brought to light—and exactly this has happened. Apparently in large part as a result of the leadership of these men, the sodden hopelessness of the prison finally gave place to a determination to better conditions, and a three-day general strike of the prisoners resulted in the complete capitulation of the authorities. It will be a disgrace to Secretary Baker and his associates if this incident does not result in a careful investigation and a thorough-going reform of the whole penal system at Fort Leavenworth, and in the rest of our military prisons if similar conditions be found to prevail elsewhere. The whole theory of bludgeoning and bullying prisoners is wrong. Further, there ought to be immediate action to remedy the injustice in courts-martial for soldiers; the American Bar Association has already called attention to the necessity for the reform of military law. Finally, there should be prompt amnesty for political prisoners; they cannot possibly be confined with criminals under our present system without challenging the prison discipline. This outbreak may be urged as a reason for withholding amnesty; on the contrary, it offers the most convincing argument for such action.

THE country is seething with industrial unrest, and under it runs a current of bitterness indicating a revolutionary temper that deserves the most serious attention. Strikes are reported from every section of the United States—from Lawrence, Passaic, and Paterson in the East to Butte, San Francisco, and Seattle in the West. Most interesting and significant of all these disturbances, perhaps, is that in Seattle, where a general strike, called out of sympathy with striking shipyard workers, paralyzed the whole industrial life of the city for three days. Though there were no reports of violence, United States troops were sent to the city, and the Mayor announced that unless the strikers went back to work by eight o'clock on Saturday morning, he would take steps to operate all essential industries under Federal protection. The temper of the strikers is indicated by a quotation from the *Labor Union Record* of February 4: "If the strike continues labor may feel led to avoid public suffering by reopening more and more activities under its own management, and that is why we say that we are starting on a road that leads no one knows where." The explosiveness of the situation is indicated by the fact that the strikers were sharply confronted by the Mayor and a "Citizens' Committee," which announced that "the business interests and general community looked on the 'general strike' as rebellion against the Government." The Mayor declared the strike an attempted revolution: "It never got to first base, and it never will if the men in control of affairs will tell all traitors and anarchists that death will be their portion if they start anything." As to that, we can only remind Mayor Hanson that machine guns have failed more than once ere this. Meanwhile our old friend the American Defense Society has come out in the open. In a telegram congratulating Mayor Hanson, it declares: "We note that the party of disorder announces its action as the beginning of the social revolution in this country. We are glad that the issue is definitely raised. We have awaited it impatiently." We had long suspected as much.

IT is interesting that the first broad syndicalist proposal for control of industry in the United States should come from the railway brotherhoods—interesting because radical theory, it is constantly urged, is an importation from Russia or Germany, and is foreign to the American mind. Yet the railway brotherhoods are very nearly 100 per cent. American. Omitting all discussion of the merits or fairness of their proposal, we would point out that this is almost the first hint from any labor group in America of a constructive programme for the future, and it is startling in its radicalism. Behind the plan, we must recollect, is the immense power of the potential strike, whose terror we have more than once felt during the past four years. Quietly and without threat of force, however, the brotherhoods now present their suggestion for control of industry. Neither immigration laws nor the deportation of fifty-four, or any other number, of "foreign reds" can apparently be regarded as conferring immunity from radical proposals; for here we find revolutionary ideas in the minds for our highest paid American workmen, the members of the railway brotherhoods.

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The Victory the Allies Need

"GREAT BRITAIN never repudiates her treaty obligations." Such was the proud retort of Secretary Balfour when the radicals in the House of Commons clamored for the repudiation of the secret treaties. This attitude of the British Government was hailed at that time as the embodiment of honor and was contrasted with the "scrap of paper" position of militaristic Germany. The loyalty to earlier commitments revealed by the developments at the peace conference makes it clear that this position toward the secret treaties is by no means exclusively British. It is shared to the full extent by the other Allies. The loyalty of Italian statesmen to the secret treaty of London, for example, is quite as uncompromising as Mr. Balfour's. In fact, they denounce as a traitor any one who dares suggest that Italy in the interests of world peace should forego any of the provisions of that instrument. However edifying this devotion to treaty obligations, the maintenance of these secret agreements is a paralyzing influence at the conference. Indeed, it is safe to say that there will be no peace settlement at all if the Allies, big and little, persist in their loyalty to *sacro egoismo* and maintain all the claims based on secret deals.

It was the general assumption that by giving assent, however informally, to President Wilson's fourteen points as the principles of the peace settlement, the Allied statesmen automatically abrogated their secret agreements. The only thing still left for discussion, as the ordinary man understood the matter, was the application and interpretation of these principles. How remote was this understanding from the facts! Concerning the readjustment of the Italian frontiers, for example, President Wilson declared that it should proceed "along clearly recognized lines of nationality." But how does this square with the treaties? The imperialists, in Italy as elsewhere, have no desire to follow the lines of nationality. They think, not in terms of principles, but in terms of power. They uphold the sanctity of secret bargains, not the right of self-determination. The Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* in an illuminating statement of Italy's cause quotes three main grounds on which the Italian delegates "will contest for Fiume as well as everything promised to Italy by France, England, and Russia." The first ground is purely strategic: "The territory so promised is necessary to the future protection of Italy and therefore for the peace of Europe." The second is interesting: Italy should not be asked now to reduce her claims because "the territory promised by the Allies in 1915 is far less than what Italy asked at that time as her allotment when going into the war." Most amazing is the third: "Italy entered the war, agreeing to fight Austria in coöperation with Russia, but Russia collapsed, leaving Italy to do the work alone [the entry of the United States is not mentioned] so that the territorial compensation now should be at least as great as what was originally promised. . . . So Italy contends she did twice as much war work as first expected of her, but received much less than her original request and she balks at further reductions." Thus the principle of self-determination is replaced by "allotment for going into war" and the principle of nationality by "compensation for doing war work."

We instance thus fully the case of Italy only as a single illustration of the conflict between the principles of justice proclaimed by President Wilson and the bargains actually in effect. Italy stands by no means alone. In addition to the secret treaties earlier published, we have recently read the text of the Allies' agreement with Rumania, and have learned of the British-Japanese deal concerning the Pacific Islands. How many more of these sordid bargains remain unrevealed there is no means of knowing. What was the deal with the Czecho-Slovaks, what the bargain with the Polish National Committee in Paris? The Associated Press recently compiled a comprehensive summary of Allied claims. Reading this statement one gets the impression that it is only a new edition of the secret treaties, but it goes beyond any agreements that have as yet been made public. In introducing this catalogue of annexationist greed the Associated Press correspondent explains that it represents the "maximum of hopes." It represents, unfortunately, the maximum of cynicism as well. The difficulty which the correspondent sees lies in the fact that the aspirations of the Allies are "often overlapping," and the task of the conference is to adjust them into a "coördinate whole."

If the task of making peace were actually the adjustment of claims, this would be well enough. Difficult as the settlement of overlapping demands may appear, there is always room for compromise, and all the Paris dispatches joyfully announce that all the delegates are animated by the spirit of compromise and that every one is actuated by the principle of give and take. In their hope to take much, all the claimants have a considerable margin to give. The Czechs, for example, might perhaps be induced to give Lithuania and the Ukraine to Poland if they themselves were allowed to take Silesia, or to give Silesia to Poland and take German Saxony. The possibilities for the application of the principle of give and take are so varied that all claims might be coördinated. But all this annexation of German land, in accordance with secret deals, this Balkanization of eastern Europe, this proposed crippling of Russia, is the surest way to future wars and not to peace.

The most striking feature in the summary of Allied territorial ambitions is its negation of the principles proposed by President Wilson and accepted, as the world believed, by the Allies. The claims are apparently based on the following grounds: (1) The stipulation of secret treaties. (2) The securing of good strategic frontiers. (3) Traditional interest. (4) The forestalling of other greedy Powers. (5) Plain desire for expansion. The right of peoples to decide their own destinies is mentioned only twice.

Such is the spirit in which the various delegations have gone to Paris, and such are their commitments under the bargains they have made. They appear to be obsessed by the idea of power, by the right of victory, and by the instinct for spoils. Instead of a peace settlement based on justice and humanity we are witnessing a spectacle of claimants demanding the spoils agreed on as a reward for "war work." Such bargains are in flat contradiction of the principles of justice and self-determination enunciated by President Wilson and acclaimed by the peoples of the whole world. The President appears to be fighting with his back to the wall, unable so far as territorial claims go to make any headway amid the barbed-wire entanglements of secret treaties and agreements among the Allied Powers. The Allies have achieved a marvellous military victory, but their success will be vain if they fail to achieve a still greater victory—the victory over themselves, over the obsession of power, and over the instincts of imperialism.

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Revolution by Due Course of Law

THE right of revolution stands above cavil or question as primary, sacred, and inalienable. If a people wishes to change the mode or mechanics of its government, or in part to modify or wholly to discard the theory of government upon which its political organization is based, it has a clear right to do so. But it is a disgrace and an abiding shame to any people when such changes are effected by violence; because the fact simply proves that there is not enough intelligence functioning in coöperation with social progress, with the great essential movement of the world towards the far-off divine event, to make these inevitable and necessary transitions in an orderly way. Let it pass, if one likes, that heretofore it has not been possible to coördinate and focus enough intelligence to dispense with the appeal to force; that therefore revolutions must have been by violence or not at all; surely one would hesitate to acknowledge that peoples now, and the American people in particular, are still bound by this grim necessity. One might well ask what is the practical outcome of the traditions of a century and a half of republicanism if at last the popular will can be registered only behind the barricades.

The possibility of revolution in the United States, however, is clearly real, and where in our society is the intelligence, the constructive imagination and the experienced sense of affairs, that can take an accurate measure of its terms, coöperate with its beneficent tendencies, and insure its progress against the disgraceful and retarding accompaniment of violence? We do not point out this prospect with despondency, for its wholesomeness can not be doubted; nor do we raise our question in the mere rhetoric of despairing helplessness, for the needed ability is here and can be identified. Twenty men, by putting themselves disinterestedly at the service of this social process, could enable it to fulfil itself easily and naturally.

Twenty men. Not from the universities, for during the past four years we have had a free, full, and sufficient experience of the kind of leadership the universities are able to furnish—"understanding the least," as Clarendon said of the clergy, "and taking the worst measure of human affairs of all mankind that can read and write," though, of course there are individuals of outstanding capacity and usefulness. Nor yet from among the officeholders, a class revealed throughout the course of history as consistently incapable, we will not say of grasping the principles of fundamental economics upon which the revolutionary movement is everywhere proceeding, but even of realizing that human beings are capable of developing a savage and dangerous temper when their primary rights are arbitrarily interferred with.

We have also had abundant opportunity to see presumably the best that they can do, and may God spare us the repetition of it. The American people has shown an almost inconceivable patience and docility under every possible manifestation of official arrogance, ignorance, stupidity, hypocrisy, and anarchy. And now, at the present crisis, we have offered to us, as a sane and competent measure of the situation, the Senate Judiciary Committee, authorized to "snoop" into the reported "spread of Bolshevism." Admirable indeed was the New York *World's* observation that the Congress is one of the two chief agencies for promoting Bolshevism in the United States. Under any circumstances, this authorization of the Overman Committee would be an act of impudent foolery; under the present circumstances, it is a vicious and mischievous challenge to the very terrorism that under the administration of even moderate intelligence, sincerity, and integrity, would evaporate.

No, the men we have in mind are business men, industrialists, men of affairs. Here, and nowhere else, is visible the ability that the present exigency indicates, and the leverage to apply it to its full power. We have often spoken editorially of the example of Richard Cobden. Cobden became the incarnation of a popular movement and conducted his country through what really amounted to a successful revolution effected by due process of law. He was able to do this, first, because he was a Manchester manufacturer, and had the sense of affairs which his industrial experience gave him; second, because he was willing thoroughly and disinterestedly to understand the economic principles that the revolution was proposing to express; and third, because he put himself at the service of the revolution in such a way that his sincerity could not be questioned. Thus the revolution was kept orderly and bloodless through mutual understanding; as any revolution may be kept, provided only the disinterested intelligence be available for its conduct.

The propertyless dependent class, as we said last week, is at present displaying a significant mass-intuition which has no proper interpreters and must have them if its outworking is not to be fraught with calamity. The authority of the old machine type of labor leader like Mr. Gompers is impaired beyond help and hope. Against all precedent, strikes are maintained during a period of unemployment, in the face of a considerable labor-surplus, and with a notable absence of disorder. The State of North Dakota has put all its political machinery under control of the Non-Partisan League, representing an economic interest, and has worked out constitutional and legislative measures that quite closely approach the economic principles that human society, the world over, seems in one way or another laboring to express. Out of the war, too, has come to the American people generally a profound dissatisfaction with its own theory of government; a clearer consciousness that what it has been all along calling representative government is really delegated government, and in practice as irresponsible and autocratic as any on earth. Was ever a time more unpropitious for the indolent and vicious blundering of officeholders, for the institutional voices of our society to cry their venal and stupid misrepresentations? On the other hand, was opportunity ever more favorable for the disinterested functioning of the order of intelligence we have described? Twenty men, we repeat, could effectively interpret the present motion of society away from the theory of delegated political government towards that of representative administrative government. By clearing the confusion that prevails in economic terminology they could show what the final terms of the industrial strife really are. They could show that there is no clash of interest between capital and labor; that the essential opposition is between privilege and industry, between the political means of aggregating wealth and the economic means; they could discover to capital and labor their common enemy and bring a union of forces against it into an open field. This would clear the issue and make it possible to proceed by orderly steps in a revolution by due course of law.

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A Forgotten Condition of Peace

The great task before the world, through the peace conference, is the healing of the nations, which means the welfare of all peoples. This can only come through world freedom made possible by economic freedom, which means economic peace. Now that the greatest of all wars is happily over, and the international spirit of freedom has vanquished national greed for world power, there must come the great peace which will first of all remove the economic, social, and political motives for future wars. If the new peace is not such a peace, the war will have been waged for naught and the sacrifices of millions of men have been in vain. For the first time in history there is an opportunity for the nations of the world to lay down their economic weapons along with their military arms and join in an actual brotherhood of humanity.

TO all of which amen! The distinguished group of American free traders from whose cabled memorial, addressed through Secretary Lansing to the peace conference, we have quoted the above paragraph, have given utterance to a profound even if self-evident truth, constantly forgotten. We hail their memorial as a welcome sign of returning sanity in a world where unreason and hatred have for four and a half years held almost undisputed sway. We note with satisfaction that the names of some of the chief apostles of hate are signed to this manifesto. With the dreadful strain of actual hostilities removed, human nature again begins to assert itself in the desire for the healing of the nations, and reason once more takes the throne as men seek the means of healing.

If the conduct of the representatives of the Governments at Versailles had thus far given any evidence of accessibility to such considerations, we should adjure them to give the most earnest attention to the arguments of this pronouncement. For we are of that number who do most honestly believe that peace among the nations is one of the great desiderata of human existence. Further, we believe, with Dr. L. P. Jacks, that war is the result, not of human nature, but of state nature, and we hold that in order to get rid of the greatest scourge of the race we must create conditions of freedom. We must let human nature function freely and coöperatively, instead of working within the limits of artificially created restrictions that set one man or group of men against another. Our grievance against the quarrelling and scheming diplomats who gather about the great table at Versailles or plot in the anterooms is just that they appear to give no thought to the creation of those conditions of freedom.

Specifically, so far as the peace conference concerns itself with peace—and peace seems to be a minor consideration with it—it appears to busy itself with the machinery of world order, and not at all with the attempt to create that unity of the spirit which is the bond of peace. We do not underestimate the importance of machinery, but all the machinery in the world will not make peace. The conference is discussing the creation of a league of nations, with elaborate paraphernalia of national representation, and courts, and sanctions, and "mandatories," and what not—but however essential is the creation of some organ for the management of super-national affairs, no man in his senses imagines that such a body can of itself keep the peace among men if Governments deliberately make it to the interest of certain of their citizens to bite and devour their neighbors, and teach the remaining citizens that it is their duty to support the enterprise, with the sword if necessary.

Economic greed has indeed been "the chief and most prolific source of modern wars," as the memorialists assert; "economic peace is the vital atmosphere of a league of free nations and involves freedom of trade in the mutual interest of all nations and to the disadvantage of none." We may create peace machinery until doomsday, and if we still use the power of Governments to create special opportunity for some groups and classes, denying it to others, if we give certain manufacturers and traders a special advantage because they belong in our country, withholding it from others because they belong in France or Belgium, if we throw special protection around investors in China or Mexico because they are Americans, denying it to others because they are Englishmen—if we use the power of Governments in this fashion, then we create the conditions precedent to war, and all the leagues we build cannot save us from its dread ravages. We care not one whit for the old political controversy between protection and free trade; we care everything for the progress of mankind toward freedom and peaceful coöperation. And as an absolutely fundamental condition of such progress, abundantly demonstrated to be such by hundreds of years of disastrous experiment with other and vain means of preventing wars, we press upon the attention of every thoughtful man the necessity that the power of Governments no longer be used to secure special advantage for special groups of citizens; we utterly repudiate tariffs, concessions, and the whole foul brood of pestilential war-making arrangements. Do the gentlemen at Versailles even dream of moving on this path to freedom?

The Employment Service

THE opposition of the private employment agencies to the continuance of the United States Employment Service is not a subtle propaganda. Its intention and motive are plain. Statistics and charges of inefficiency may be used to obscure the issue, but behind them all is the obvious pressure of the instinct of self-preservation. The very life of the private fee-charging agency is threatened by the continuance of a nation-wide public employment service; and so, in fighting the appropriation bill to carry on this service, the private agencies are fighting for their lives.

The issue is less plain in the case of employers and business interests generally. Where they oppose the Federal Employment Service some motive other than mere immediate self-interest must be involved. They, too, make charges of inefficiency and accuse the Federal Service of partiality to organized labor and "social workers." But it is worth inquiring, at least, whether they would support more heartily a service that was strong and thoroughly organized. With a small army of the unemployed already in the streets may it not be that some short-sighted manufacturers anticipate with satisfaction conditions which, for them, render a public Employment Service merely a quite unnecessary nuisance? A source of opposition that lies even deeper in the mind of the average employer, however, is his fear of Government interference. The hand of the Government has lain heavily upon business for the last two years. Under the pressure of patriotism, business could only feebly protest. Now the end has come, as the discharged soldier gladly

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puts off his uniform to get into his civilian clothes, so business wants to take off the stiff habiliments of government regulation and get back into its old suit of easy independence.

Meanwhile, against this powerful array of opposition, the United States Employment Service is fighting for a deficiency appropriation to keep it alive until July, and a further appropriation to carry it over another year. Behind the Employment Service is a body of reformers, public-spirited business men and the solid ranks of organized labor. The officials and supporters of the Employment Service do not claim perfection or complete efficiency to back their demands. They admit that the Service, hastily organized in a war emergency, needs to be sifted, reorganized, and finally subjected to civil-service requirements. They admit waste and red tape and a certain amount of political manipulation. Admitting all this, they still see the need of an employment service covering the country. With all its defects, the Federal Employment Service is a going concern with branches in every State, trying to direct the right man to the right job, trying to prevent the unhappy results of haphazard demobilization and the sudden shut-down of war industries, and succeeding at least in placing thus far some 2,400,000 men and women. It has thus far only touched the fringe of its possibilities.

At the rate at which unemployment is growing, hardship must soon set in. Secretary Baker in a public statement recently declared it to be "unthinkable" that any man discharged from the army should go without work. It seems fair enough to ask Mr. Baker what he intends to do to make good his optimistic prophecy. There are soldiers on the streets of New York begging for the price of a night's lodging. There are American counterparts of soldiers' and sailors' councils being formed in various large cities to demand work. The arrangement by which a soldier may, upon his personal written request, remain in the army if he has no work has accomplished nothing. Perhaps Mr. Baker counts upon Spring and continued mild weather to make it unnecessary for him to do anything. Certainly the rate and method of demobilization and the whole attitude of the army authorities toward civil agencies trying to remedy a hopeless situation are such as to make Mr. Baker's words ring very hollow.

The United States Employment Service must be maintained. Its defects are not inherent; the need for it is all too plain. In the act of taking men from their positions to fight in the army the Government assumed a solemn obligation to give those men employment upon their discharge. Every man or woman thrown out of work by the shut-down of war industries has a like claim upon the Government. The United States Employment Service is the one agency thus far devised by the Government for discharging this obligation. Not for the sake of a few managers of private agencies, not for those employers who do not realize what may result from an unemployed army of resentful, hungry men and women, should this obligation be ignored. The Employment Service should get its deficiency appropriation and its appropriation for another year. Its existence should be established by an organic act of Congress. Then it should be set in order so that every position that needs a man may get the right man, and every man who is out of work may get the right position. A country that cannot organize its own labor force has not yet learned the first lesson of efficient government.

The Force of Destiny

WE record our gratification at learning from the papers that our old friend Mr. McAdoo has risen in the world. From his start as a humble bureaucrat at subsistence wages or thereabouts, he has become attorney for a great moving-picture merger at $100,000 per year, according to the morning dailies; the evening editions raised it to $200,000, and we confess (envious creatures we are all!) that we did not look to see what next day's issues gave him. However, he seems at last in a way to be prosperous in an honorable employment, and no doubt will go into the films. The most rudimentary box-office sense would insure his doing so, hence it were superfluous that we should undertake to emphasize a unanimous popular demand. The ex-Secretary is agile and personable, and unless Washington society reporters have flattered him shamefully, he is a dancer of credit and renown. The country insists on the privilege of responding as one man to the inspiring spectacle of his being filmed through one of the buck and wing specialties of his native South, supported, say, by Mr. Charles Chaplin on one side and Mr. Douglas Fairbanks on the other. Again, he has had the unusual experience of holding an office for almost every hour in the day—Secretary, bureau-head, board-head, commission-head, sales manager, and what not? What a predestinatory preparation for the part of *Pooh-Bah* in an adaptation of the "Mikado" written to order by the admiring young lions of his staff! Vice-President Marshall is right. We confess to a touch of cynicism when we read the credo of Americanism set forth in his Washington speech the other day, but it has yielded wholly to the exhilarating influence of our present line of thought. Who could complain of our political system, when it leads straight to beatification of a whole people by opening such cultural opportunities as these?

We try not to be carried away by our enthusiasm, but while we are on the subject, we should like to propose an arrangement of general exchanges, something like exchange professorships, between our office-holders, whose performances seem to have gone very stale for lack of a sharper sense of the audience, and the commercial stage. We have not worked out the details, but anticipate no difficulty with them. As a beginning we would suggest that Mr. Burleson at once exchange stands with Mr. Joseph Cawthorn for the remainder of the season. There would not be standing-room in all New York for the crowds that would go to see Mr. Burleson, and when we think of the improvement in the postal service under Mr. Cawthorn, we predict with confidence that every business interest in the country would rise up and call us blessed. Again, let the Senate Investigating Committee transfer its activities to the Winter Garden, or perhaps make a shift with the Brown Brothers at the Hippodrome. Congress would be ever so much wiser, it would learn ever so much more about essential human nature; and on the other hand, the theatre-goers would get far more than their money's worth of sheer, stark, diverting, and wholly unconscious humor. And as for the Cabinet—why, fifty years ago Artemus Ward, with sterling good sense, was urging President Lincoln to fill up his Cabinet with showmen. Showmen are what is needed—showmen in their several specialties—and let the Cabinet, in their several specialties, go on tour, minus Mr. Burleson, who, as we have intimated, is far too precious to be wasted on the provinces.

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Industrial Peace and War

By JULIET STUART POYNTZ

THE problems of a just and lasting peace appear to be at least as difficult in the field of industry as in that of international relations. The industrial truce which suspended the issue between employer and employee for the period of the war, far from effecting any permanent pacification in industry, has been the prelude to an industrial outbreak unparalleled in virulence and extent. The social aftermath of war which is now emerging exhibits the characteristics of its matrix. The war psychosis is probably no less responsible for the present state of the social mind than are the unprecedented height of the cost of living and the shadow of unemployment.

The philosophy of "direct action," which had gained considerable headway in the two decades that preceded the war, has flourished in the spiritual atmosphere of belligerency, and has attained a new influence in the counsels of both employers and workers. On both sides are visible a distinct impatience with political and industrial parliamentarism and a reversion to the law of tooth and claw. The British workers have just set up their political straw man only to knock him down with the industrial club. The "one big union" idea lifts its head in the Newest England of the Pacific, the classic land of industrial peace, while in America political reaction and industrial anarchy are advancing hand in hand. An analysis of recent labor conflicts in this country indicates the presence of an irreconcilable spirit which bodes ill for the hopes of industrial liberalism. The serious social emergency in which the nation finds itself, with labor disputes in various parts of the country involving a quarter of a million workers and unemployment affecting another quarter of a million, has not deterred employers from striving to maintain the economic advantages of the war period in the face of industrial disorganization while at the same time abandoning concurrent principles of industrial peace.

The intransigent spirit which pervades the field of industrial relations finds striking expression in the present conflict in the clothing industry. The repudiation of arbitration by the manufacturers of women's clothing in New York, Philadelphia, and other centres threatens the best-laid plans for industrial peace in these trades. The rupture of the agreement which has governed the relations of employer and employed in this industry for the last six years marks the end of an era of collective bargaining inaugurated with the so-called protocol of peace which terminated the cloakmakers' strike of 1910. This novel system of industrial government, which was later extended to other branches of the clothing trades, was based upon the principle of perpetual peace in industry. Strikes and lockouts alike were banned, and there was established in the industries concerned a fundamental constitution which should mete out swift and impartial justice to employer and worker without distinction. Various governmental functions, legislative, judicial, administrative, were embraced in this ambitious project of trade regulation, and placed under the central authority of the board of arbitration or supreme court of the industry. So far did the confidence in methods of cooperation progress that standardization of wages and working conditions on a scientific basis was entrusted to a board of protocol standards in which manufacturers, workers, and public were given equal representation, while the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, similarly organized, undertook the maintenance of standards of sanitation and safety.

The protocol, with its elaborate machinery for the preservation of industrial peace, rested upon the principle of harmony rather than conflict of interest. Presupposing the hegemony of reason in human affairs, even in industrial affairs, its founders sought the solution of the industrial problem in science and social good-will. The fundamental economic principle, whether enunciated by arbitrators such as Louis D. Brandeis and Julian W. Mack, by employers, or by union leaders, was the pure theory of collective bargaining—the strong union and the strong manufacturers' association operating in mutual confidence for mutual aid. All the resources of industrial organization, of science, and of enlightened public opinion contributed to this application of liberalism in the economic field. The new organ of industrial control was a veritable philosophers' stone in an era of faith in industrial peace.

It is easier to elaborate treaties than to insure their effectiveness. The years since the establishment of the first protocol have witnessed the growth of anti-protocol sentiment among both employers and workers in the industries in which the new system has been introduced. Many employers felt themselves weighed down with burdensome standards and by no means guaranteed against manifestations of industrial unrest, while the workers found the new system of redress of grievances by judicial action inadequate compensation for the right to strike. The "Hourwich affair" of 1913, in which the workers defied the disciplinary action of their own union, expressed in dramatic form the dissatisfaction of the cloakmakers with the system of perpetual peace, and their strike of 1917 was terminated by a reversion to the system of perpetual conflict.

The evolution of industrial relations has followed a similar course in the closely allied branches of the garment industry, and there is therefore reason to suppose that the present strike of the thirty thousand workers in the dress and waist industry will result, as did that of the cloakmakers, in the abolition of the protocol, although some less elaborate form of arbitration may possibly survive. The demands of the union for an increase of wages and a reduction of hours have been relegated to a position of minor importance by the revolutionary counter-demand of the employers' association for the restoration of the right of free discharge and the abolition of the system of equal distribution of work in the slack season. This attack by the employers upon a citadel of industrial right long deemed inexpugnable, combined with their refusal to resort to arbitration, which has been accepted by the union, is a significant reversion to the policy of direct action.

While the protocol is the most imposing edifice of arbitration under fire, the repudiation of agreements embodying the principles and practice of collective bargaining has characterized two other pending labor disputes of importance. The boat-owners of the port of New York, in the words of Chairman Manly of the War Labor Board, "contemptuously refused to arbitrate," although bound to do so under an unexpired agreement. The port of New York was para-

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lyzed for several days during the ensuing strike, and no less authority than that of President Wilson was required to restore the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board. The workers returned to their posts after submitting all their contentions to arbitration. The owners, who disdained the Government's regimen for industrial relations, while continuing to enjoy its favor in contracts, preserved an obdurate resistance, while the War Labor Board proceeded with its hearings. The large shipping interests of the Government make it almost certain that the Federal authority will insist on arbitration. The same influence was effective in the case of the Bethlehem Steel Company. The request of its president for the withdrawal of the representatives of the War Labor Board and the abandonment of the system of collective bargaining which had been established during the war was refused by the Board with the remark: "You personally agreed to the installation of a system of collective bargaining. . . . Your company asked and received the assistance of the Board in securing increased compensation from the War and Navy Departments to meet increases of wages. . . . The Board does require that you carry out in good faith the findings of the Board upon the basis of which your employees consented to remain at work and thus maintain the production and profits of your company." After the lapse of a month the system of collective bargaining governing the industrial relations of seventy thousand men was restored. The great strike in Seattle is another manifestation of the prevailing tendency to revert to direct action.

In the period of reconstruction that is just beginning it may well be asked whether the mood and temper which are being displayed in the industrial difficulties will tend to increase rather than diminish the prospects of industrial peace. The reorganization of industry upon a peace basis cannot be so rapid or effective as was the economic mobilization for war. The widespread dislocation of production and the economic depression which is bound to ensue are not a soothing environment for minds awakened in the crash of war. It might be supposed that the wisest policy to pursue for those standing at the point of attack would be the maintenance of law and order in industry and the upholding of all forms of industrial legalism. If on the contrary the social difficulties of the new day are met in a spirit of intolerance, and the policy of direct action is openly advocated and practiced by employers, the workers may be expected to respond in kind to this "propaganda of the deed."

It is disconcerting to learn that in the haste to return to a *laissez-faire* régime the National War Labor Board may be scrapped along with other institutions of state control. There has probably never been a crisis in our history that has called more urgently for some method of guaranteeing a square deal in industry. Spontaneous combustion is generally apprehended in the present inflammable state of the industrial situation. At such a time it would seem extreme folly to abolish the one institution, imperfect though it may be, which embodies for the worker some hope of economic justice, and which assures to the harassed public the preservation of the machinery of industrial peace.

Colonies and the Peace Conference

By FRANZ BOAS

THE peace conference, in dealing with the problem of the disposal of the German colonies and of parts of Turkey, is said to have adopted the policy of placing the colonies in charge of mandatory powers which are to administer the less developed areas—essentially the same plan according to which the administration of the Herzegovina and Bosnia was entrusted to Austria-Hungary—with well-known results. Mandatories have an ugly habit of forgetting their mandate and of considering their temporary charges as permanent property. Even if the proposed procedure should not be intended as a means of avoiding the word "annexation," the result is very apt to turn out as though "annexation" had been meant. The history of Great Britain in Egypt, no less than that of Austria in Bosnia, teaches the lesson of what is likely to become of a protectorate.

Since it is declared that the Allies cannot return the colonies to Germany because she has been guilty of maladministration and exploitation, it seems opportune to restate what Sir Harry Johnston, one of England's best experts in colonial management, has said about German colonial administration. In the autumn of 1914 he wrote as follows:

> What account has Germany to give of her stewardship, of her thirty years as a colonial power? On the whole a good one. International science has been greatly the gainer by the presence of Germany as a ruler or administrator in Africa, Oceania, China, and the Turkish Empire. Look at the magnificently furnished German museums of ethnology and natural history; consider the German contributions to philology, to the study of tropical diseases, to economic botany, chemistry, palæontology, history, and archæology. Germany has effectively abolished the deeply-rooted slave-trade in East Africa and in the Kamerun hinterland. Her treatment of the native races in some parts of Africa has been harsh, but on the whole—when unprejudiced truth is told—the natives are the better in the long run for the incoming of the German. In Southwest Africa the Negro population has diminished through the long-drawn-out wars with the white rulers; but it must be remembered when the Germans first came on the scene in 1884 the Hottentots were exterminating the Bantu Negroes, yet perishing themselves from alcohol, small-pox, syphilis, and starvation due to disappearance of the big game. Of late years the native population in South-West Africa has been on the increase. In East Africa thirty years of German rule has probably doubled the Negro population. Germany has constructed a thousand miles of railroad in East Africa, 1,880 miles in South-West Africa, 128 miles in Togoland, 149 miles in the Kamerun, and 272 miles in Kiao Chau (Eastern China). In the Near East she has built the famous Bagdad railway from Konieh nearly to Skanderun and Aleppo and, in patches, onwards towards Bagdad (some 1,200 miles in all). Her future policy in Turkey might have tended to secure unfair preference for German trade; yet it is only fair to remember that in the territories actually under German sway she has preserved the free-trade principle. Her own trade, import and export, with the entirety of her oversea possessions, has scarcely reached to an annual value of five and a half millions sterling. The import and export trade of the British Empire with these German colonies is about one million pounds in annual value. In short, though Germany has made no great profit so far from her overseas Empire, she as a colonizing power has deserved well of the world at large; . . .

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Sir Harry Johnston cannot be described as a friend of Germany; in fact, in the article quoted he rejoiced over the prospect of Germany's having all her colonies taken from her.

There is no need to recall the colonial history of other Powers, the Belgian atrocities in the Congo, the British and Dutch troubles in South Africa, our own difficulties with the Indians, Canada's failure to do justice to her Indians, the Brazilian outrages, the French troubles in Africa, not to speak of India—to see that the difficulties that do arise are inherent in the system, and are not peculiar to any one nation.

The basis for a true solution of the colonial problem has been outlined by the British Labor party, which declares:

> With respect to these colonies the conference declares in favor of a system of control, established by international agreement, under the league of nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, whilst respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them, and in particular:
>
> (1) It would take account in each locality of the wishes of the people, expressed in the form which is possible for them.
>
> (2) The interests of the native tribes as regards the ownership of the soil would be maintained.
>
> (3) The whole of the revenues would be devoted to the well-being and development of the colonies themselves.

The problem involves our attitude toward those branches of mankind whom we are pleased to call backward races, and also our assumption of the absolute value of our cultural standards. The point in question appears clearly in a comparison of the mode of life of the Mexican small farmer and our unskilled laborer. The former gets along with few of the comforts of life. He does not have to labor hard in order to meet his daily needs, although the custom of milling in the house on the *metate* places a heavy burden upon his wife. In their leisure time the Mexicans, men and women, enjoy themselves in a healthful manner. It is true, there is drunkenness; but there is also pleasure taken in music, and poetry, and other activities that make life worth living. We are inclined to lay stress upon the comforts of life, and are willing to toil day and night for their acquisition, regardless of the sacrifice of other interests, particularly of the leisure that enables us to enjoy not only the comforts, but also the higher purposes of life. The ultimate reason for this attitude on our part is our increased sensitiveness to suffering, and our tendency to call to-day suffering what was yesterday merely a discomfort. Human suffering has undoubtedly been diminished by the comforts of modern life, by better nutrition and better hygienic conditions; but it is only recently that the laborer has begun to recognize that he sacrifices too much if he gives up his whole energy to the acquisition first of the bare necessities of life, and then of comforts, without having the leisure time to enjoy life and its comforts. Our attention has been too much directed toward the elimination of suffering, and not enough toward the creation of opportunities to enjoy life without suffering.

Wherever we deal with foreign races this conflict of views arises. What is sacred and dear to the native is trodden under foot, and pressure is exerted on him to adapt his way of feeling and living to our own. Instead of being encouraged to develop his native industries, he is taught to do work that we do and that we value; instead of developing his work, which leaves him time to live, he is driven into our plantation or factory system. The basis of his social life and of such of his beliefs as are foreign to our feelings is undermined, and he is given as a substitute nothing that has a solid foundation in his mode of life and thought. Furthermore, the incentive to continue his own industrial pursuits, which require time and loving devotion, is lost when cheap factory products may be had with little trouble, and when effective tools may be had almost for the asking. Thus it happens that the home industry which forms the background of native life decays. The diseases of civilization are imported and work havoc among people that have not developed that immunity which is protecting the white invaders. Unless the population is dense, the inevitable result of all these causes is the extinction of the native population. This has been the fate of the scattered tribes of Indians, Australians, Polynesians, Bushmen, Hottentots, and most of the Siberians. Only the populous parts of America, like Mexico and Peru, and those of Africa and Asia, have withstood the disastrous results of European invasion.

If no material interests of the whites were involved, the satisfactory solution of these questions would be difficult. It is still more so, because the desire for the exploitation of foreign countries, which leads to the intrusion of the whites, creates conflicts between the interests of the natives and those of the invaders. The essential motive for interference in foreign countries is the need in our life for the products of these countries. When these cannot be obtained except by native labor, the native is forced to produce what we want and is exploited for our purposes. In countries available for settlement by whites, the desire to utilize uncultivated land is the primary motive that brings whites and natives into contact and conflict. These conditions determined the course of colonization in America and Australia, and in South Africa, where Dutch, British, and Germans have had quite similar experiences.

It is curious to note that so clear a thinker as Bertrand Russell defends colonial wars waged for the purpose of conquering unused land, if the land is wrested from backward races. The question arises: what are backward races? and what degree of lack of utilization of territory justifies intrusion upon foreign soil? It is true, the North American Indians did not utilize the country as we do and we assumed the right to confine them on reservations selected, not according to the needs of the Indians, but according to the wishes of the settlers. The same conditions confronted the Europeans in Australia. In Africa, on the other hand, there are regions in which much land is under cultivation. In between there are districts that might profitably be cultivated, but that are not utilized for the time being. Does this give us the right to appropriate them, not to speak of the parts that are under cultivation? I think this problem will become clear if we imagine the Chinese coming here and finding square miles of land in northern New York and New England lying waste, owned but not used. Would they not be entitled, on the same grounds on which we base our colonial claims, to say that they have no land at home and that for the sake of the welfare of humanity they will till the soil that we do not know how to utilize? Or is it only not right for them because they have not the might to force us to acquiesce?

Here lies the crucial question, the just answer to which should govern all colonial policies, and which at least in those regions in which Europeans are not likely to settle in large numbers should govern our conduct. In most others

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the time seems to be past when a just treatment of the native races might save them—in the United States and Canada, in Australia and in the Argentine Republic. There are other parts of the globe, however—Siberia and other parts of Asia, for example—in which a fairer treatment than has hitherto been accorded to the natives might even yet protect their rights. In agricultural Africa, or in India, the first duty of colonial administration should be to see to it that the economic basis of the life of the natives is so safeguarded as to make impossible the death of hundreds of thousands by starvation and to prevent the exportation of the products of the soil while the people are starving.

It is exceedingly difficult to shape the policy that will yield the best results for the inhabitants of the colony and for humanity as a whole. They cannot be obtained on the basis of increasing the profit that the owner of a colony tries to derive from it. Any policy that increases production of valuable raw products by exploitation of the country without regard to the future, or that destroys the basis of the industrial and social life of the natives, must be condemned. The education of the native does not mean the introduction of so-called Christianity—generally a superficial veneer over surviving beliefs of earlier times—or of the white man's houses and clothing and industries in place of his earlier mode of life, but a careful building up on the basis of native cultural life. No nation can pride itself on having solved this difficult problem. The recent attempts, which I believe were first instituted by Germans, to accept the native law of primitive tribes as the standard of judicial procedure and merely to soften its harshness by reserving capital punishment to the Governor, point in a direction that may be followed.

It is obvious that these policies will never be introduced so long as colonies and their inhabitants are considered as the property of colonial powers that exploit the land and utilize its inhabitants for their own economic purposes and for the fighting of their battles, the issues of which do not concern the natives. The only solution lies in the most radical application of the programme of the English Labor party: international protection of the colonies of all countries against exploitation, and their government in the interest of the natives and of humanity.

The Career of Lamartine

By E. PRESTON DARGAN

CONSIDERABLE light has recently been thrown upon the romantic and versatile figure of Lamartine. Within the last dozen years almost as many volumes have dealt with various phases in the career of the poet-statesman.* And now Mr. Whitehouse's elaborate "Life" serves to arrange and display on a large scale the known biographical material.† The book is thoroughly documented as regards Lamartine himself and his political rôle; his poetry is less adequately treated. The temperament of his subject seems to bewilder Mr. Whitehouse, who fails to offer a clear synthesis of Lamartine's qualities. Sympathetic on the whole towards his hero's character and attainments, while cognizant of his untrustworthiness in practical respects, the writer presents a careful standardized biography,—the fullest treatment of Lamartine up to date in any language.

The questions which one continues to ask, after collating these varied materials, are these: Does the poet survive after the publication of his earliest volumes, or does he then become a hasty improviser? Was his affair with Elvire essentially Platonic? Was his transition to politics justified by works or does his career as a whole seem a tragic compromise? Tentative answers to these questions can best be given by viewing Lamartine in four different aspects: the man himself, the lover, the poet, and the statesman.

In character and personality, Lamartine appears as a noble and charming figure, an idealist in the chief relations of life. "A great man in most senses of the word," says Mr. Whitehouse, he was yet an "incorrigible visionary, an altruist whose persistent optimism resulted" in various misfortunes. As a youth, he was fortunately placed in his simple and semi-patriarchal environment at Milly, to whose associations he clung throughout life, with that "natural piety" so extolled by Wordsworth. His sensibility was partly an inheritance from his mother, partly the result of extensive readings in Rousseau and other pre-Romanticists. The melancholy of his adolescence seems rather the product of storm and stress than inherently temperamental. Was he primarily a man of action? The poet thought so, various modern critics agree with him; and Mr. Whitehouse, though he contradicts himself on this point, perceives the restless force that drove Lamartine always on to some new thing. Whenever action meant high and legitimate ambition, whenever his ideals caught fire, Lamartine was at his best; but humdrum daily work was another thing, and he never did more than skim the surface of ordinary business.

This tendency is coupled with a disregard for facts, which appears in two ways. He is the most inexact of men as to dates and figures; and in regard to events he "idealizes" or stages the various circumstances and personages. He never seems to know where he was or what he did or said at a given time. He indulges in what have been charitably termed "retrospective hallucinations" as to meetings, for instance with Byron, and as to love-affairs, for instance with Graziella. In another kind of affairs, a similar hallucination operates. It is impossible for him to be matter-of-fact with regard to money and business. He is perpetually in debt, spends vast sums in entertaining, and dangerously anticipates his royalties. In this respect, as in certain wild-cat schemes of speculation and exploitation, he is much like Balzac. In both cases, as in the case of Scott, huge debts were incurred which demanded galley-slave toil for the rest of the writer's life. So the creative imagination appears once more as the natural enemy of worldly sense and prosperity.

Yet, according to his lights, Lamartine's worldly intentions were honorable. The same may be said of his marriage, which, having passed through his *grande passion*, he concluded on the French basis of sensible property adjustments and mutual esteem. Probably the buoyancy of his nature shows here, the need to go on to a fresh align-

* The most important of these have been reviewed in the *Nation* and are: L. Séché, "Lamartine—Elvire," 3rd. ed., 1906; R. Doumic, "Lamartine," 1912; G. Lanson, ed., "Lamartine: Méditations poétiques," 2 vols., 1915; L. Barthou, "Lamartine Orateur," 1916.

† "The Life of Lamartine," By H. Remsen Whitehouse. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918.

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ment of forces. He is of course not free from foibles, and chief among these was perhaps a simple vanity. He was the victim of too much adulation. His astonishing successes as a young poet of the *salons*, then as a political orator and leader, brought on a belief in his "infallibility." But his soaring ambition was less for personal aggrandizement than to carry out his social ideals. His vanity was at least not of the furtive and lurking kind, and it never blinded his generous eyes to the merits of others. Lamartine hardly deserves the epithet of charlatan with which Saint Beuve labelled him. He was sincere in all his undertakings. After political disaster he faced neglect and poverty bravely, without bitterness. He had shown great courage in his repeated confrontations of the mob in the revolution of 1848. He suffered from being abandoned by the people, in whom he had always believed. He had a feminine heart, which almost enveloped his mind. "J'aime à aimer," he once said. And the three forces which dominated his early life, and which find full expression in his poetry, were the love of nature, the love of women, and a vague religiosity or the love of God.

As a lover of women, Lamartine's career began early and ceased only—but completely—with his "mariage de raison." There was a boy and girl affair with a certain Lucy L——, "melancholy and diaphanous shade," which is interesting chiefly because of its misty Ossianism. There was a more serious attachment to Mlle. Henriette P——; and to avoid a marriage with this lady, Lamartine's parents sent him to Italy. Then and there came his *liaison* with the Italian grisette immortalized in "Graziella" and "Le Premier Regret"; and thus begins the literary inspiration of Lamartine's love affairs. Needless to say, he idealizes the character, circumstances, and outcome of what seems to have been a rather ordinary intrigue. All these are but preludes to the great passion of Lamartine's life. In the autumn of 1816, the young man of twenty-six met at Aix-les-Bains, in the "predestined valley," Mme. Julie Charles, wife of an elderly and celebrated scientist. Congeniality and the gentle autumnal landscape quickly produced an ardent attachment. This had two phases—the idyll of Aix, and the more intimate relationship established in Paris during the following winter. The death of Julie or "Elvire," fifteen months after their first meeting, left Lamartine prostrate. But what saddened the man deepened and purified the poet. He has recorded his love not only in the romance of "Raphaël," but in the well-known stanzas of "Le Lac," "Le Temple," and other poems.

We have lately learned a good deal about the character and conduct of "Elvire." In 1905, M. Doumic discovered and published five letters from Julie, evincing her passionate fondness for Lamartine. Léon Séché then made researches which resulted in finding the portrait of Julie, in revealing her Creole ancestry as well as many facts about her life and *entourage*. Finally, Mr. Whitehouse now arranges the facts and balances the various conjectures about the heroine. She emerges as a "ravissante" creature, with great ardent eyes, showing alternately the pallor and the flushes of the doomed consumptive. She lived in a cultivated circle at Paris and was, like Lamartine, a Rousseauist, a sentimentalist, and vaguely religious towards the end. Their relationship was for the most part on an ideal and serious basis; as to whether it remained wholly Platonic, a considerable debate has arisen. Against that interpretation stand certain passionate expressions in Julie's letters, as well as talk of losing her reputation and a desire to "expiate"; there were also frequent opportunities accorded the lovers in Paris. What Julie writes, however, might be the natural language of an *exaltée* who knows that her end is near. In favor of the Platonic hypothesis, Séché, who appears to be the only Frenchman to believe in it, alleges these facts; Julie was a wasted consumptive, she refers to herself as Lamartine's mère," M. Charles was thoroughly unsuspicious, and Lamartine, with his wife's consent, named their child after Julie. Most of these specific arguments can be answered, especially considering the known tendencies of certain consumptives and the kind of matriarchate that Mme. de Warens established with Rousseau. A better case can be made out on the more general grounds that both lovers were essentially idealistic, that Lamartine solemnly associates the name of Elvire with that of the deity, and that there are no symptoms of disillusionment on either side.

Passing now to Lamartine as a poet, it has been said that his three chief inspirations were nature, religion, and woman; it may be added that the three are closely combined in his greatest verse. "Le Crucifix," for instance, in which the dear emblem passes from the dying to the living, is in memory of the ethereal Elvire. And in "Le Temple" the poet declares that he can mingle sacred and profane love, because the profane is none the less pure. As regards nature, his sweethearts are associated with the *cari luoghi* which they inhabited. So the bright figure of Graziella is duly portrayed against the brilliant Neapolitan scenery, and the pale shade of Elvire haunts immortally the placid Lac du Bourget. The typical Lamartinian landscape is formed by certain elements which stand almost as his symbols of love and revery: the lake, the twilight hour, the stealing moonbeam, the gentle slopes, the tall, sad trees.

The technical qualities of this poetry have often been set forth, and Mr. Whitehouse has little to say in this connection. We find a suave harmony, continuing the tradition of Racine and the eighteenth century elegists; a fluidity of composition, connected with Lamartine's preference for floating, soaring, luminous things and images; a *morbidezza* of tone and deliberate soft vagueness of outline, which place him at the opposite extreme from the later Parnassians; an exposed sensibility, like an "Æolian harp"; and, more broadly, a transfusion of sentiment and ideality into the most varied subjects. Beginning with his first volume, these traits permeate all his works. The "Premières Méditations" (1820), as M. Lanson has demonstrated, usually have bookish sources, and in form show a continuity with neo-classical tradition, rather than, as is often supposed, a distinct break. Their tremendous vogue was due rather to the intimacy, the purity, and plaintive sincerity of Lamartine's individual voice. The second "Méditations," published after his marriage, partially substitute for the old melancholy a happy love in a sunny landscape; otherwise they prolong the moods and measures of the first volume, and though scarcely inferior, they have suffered to some extent the common fate of a sequel. Perhaps for the same reason, "Les Harmonies" (1830) have never been so well-known as the preceding volumes. Yet the poet strikes here a bolder and richer note—which he occasionally holds too long,—and these poems are bathed in a serener light of faith and optimism. Some hold that there are too many negligences, too much "improvisation," in his early work. This is a question that has several sides. It is true

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that Lamartine's critical utterances seem to represent him as an advocate of simple spontaneity, as careless of rhyme and revision, and even as assuming an aristocratic and progressive disdain of the Muse. He speaks of poetry as merely a short "act of prayer" to introduce the busy day; and it is known that he could, on occasion, improvise with astonishing facility and point. But Séché has remarked that Lamartine burned several thousand verses before publishing any, and that he had thus attained a considerable ease in rhyming. Again, Séché's exhibition of the variants to many of the lyrics show that Lamartine did not always despise the file and chisel, and that his corrections were generally for the better. It would be difficult to convict of serious neglect a poet whose "meditations" lie embedded, as perfect crystals, in the memories of so many readers.

The career of Lamartine as a statesman is treated at length by Mr. Whitehouse, as well as by M. Barthou, the former Minister, in his "Lamartine Orateur." These gentlemen do not believe that the poet was wholly wasted in politics, and perhaps a survey of the principal facts will lead the reader to agree with them. Even in the early days of love and poetry, Lamartine had strong political ambitions. From the time of the Restoration he considered diplomacy his real career, and feared lest his poetry should injure his chances. Curiously enough, however, it was the fame of the first "Méditations" that attracted the attention of Talleyrand and caused the appointment of Lamartine as secretary to the embassy at Naples. After serving there and at Florence, he wished to play a greater rôle at home, and stood for election as deputy. Defeated at first, he was elected, while abroad in Palestine, in 1831, and this date was a turning-point in his life. He had already accepted the Revolution of July, the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, as the best temporary bulwark against radicalism. The year 1831 is marked by his journey to the Orient, his election to the Chamber, and the publication of the manifesto "Sur la politique rationelle."

The journey to the East gave Lamartine a more definite perspective on home affairs. "Il faut sortir," as he said, in order to understand; and he came back less of a believer in poetry and orthodox religion, more of a believer in his own political ability and destiny. The "Politique rationelle" lays down the programme of a progressive liberal, a prophet of the future. Henceforth Lamartine will consistently stand for freedom,—freedom of the press and of education, the gradual separation of Church and State. He is a partisan of universal male suffrage, if introduced by degrees, of a more decentralized France, and, as we shall see, of other measures that tend towards the public welfare. It is a broadly social rather than a strictly political programme, and therein lies both its strength and its weakness.

Lamartine took his seat as an independent, and maintained a position of isolation for nearly ten years. He did not get on with either Guizot or Thiers, and later joined the Opposition to the Guizot Government. While still an independent, he gradually perfected himself in oratory, winning plaudits if not many adherents in the Chamber, but directing his powers mainly towards the better sort of popular appeal. He gave the initiative to various liberal measures which were subsequently put into effect.

In 1840, distrustful of the cautious bourgeois monarchy and its Ministers, Lamartine came out frankly as a believer in the *principles* of the Revolution of 1789. Eight years later he was the leading figure in a fresh revolution which he did not precipitate, but which he certainly animated by many democratic speeches as well as by his glowing and inaccurate "Histoire des Girondins." Chateaubriand said of this work: "Le malheureux! Il a doré la guillotine." But when another Saint Antoine swept into the Hôtel de Ville in February, 1848, it was Lamartine who time after time restrained the mob by his commanding presence, his physical courage, and particularly by his ability to find the right word at the right moment. An eloquent and dramatic figure, adored by the populace, he reached his fullest success as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and virtually as head of the Provisional Government in the Spring of that year. He now held himself the saviour of his country; for besides placating the other European Powers, he had caused the new Government to reject the red flag of the extremists. Yet in a few months he had lost all his prestige, receiving fewer votes for President than any other candidate, and being finally submerged by the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III. That is why his political career is considered by many a tragedy and a failure. But if we look closely there are elements of moral victory and greatness in this tragedy. Its causes are not far to seek. Lamartine was not a practical politician. Splendid on the tribune or as a hero in moments of crisis, he was weak and uncertain in the council-chamber and innocent in intrigue. Desiring to effect a working compromise between the moderates and the radicals in the Provisional Government, he was suspected and then deserted by both parties, who probably had also perceived his "velvet" grasp of affairs and cared little for his abundance of principle. The fickle populace turned from him to the rising star which bore the magic name of Bonaparte. In a sense, Lamartine's loyalty to his cabinet, his devotion to the best interests of France, his reluctance to seize the reins of power, as he might once have done, and become a militaristic dictator and demagogue,—these things spelled his "ruin." But that which was a ruin is now a monument.

In politics, as in other matters, Lamartine remained the idealist,—and now is no time to speak scornfully of the idealist in politics. There, too, he sowed the seeds of fine thought and feeling. Their growth was for a time arrested, but some of them have flowered in modern democratic France. This he could not know, nor how his poetry, that prayer of the morning, would still, after a long century, live in the hearts of mankind. Feeling that his work was done and that his light was dimmed, Lamartine could only, as a tired old man, turn his face to the wall and deliver as his epitaph:

"J'ai vécu pour la foule et je veux dormir seul."

Contributors to this Issue

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Our Weekly Cable Letter

Wilson and the World

Paris, February 6

MORE than ever is it a battle of Woodrow Wilson against the field. More than ever the struggle goes on behind closed doors. Points are won. Great innovations in policy are announced as being accepted in principle, and yet there remains everywhere the greatest skepticism as to the outcome, except in the headquarters of the President himself. Wilson appears before the Chamber of Deputies, which cheers to the echo the daring speech in which he again warns the world that it is the people who are to be legislated for and not the Governments. Yet while man and speech are cheered to heaven, the opposition continues, and in all official gatherings, social or otherwise, there is unconcealed scoffing at Wilson and the league and its mandatories.

As the weeks pass, the weariness and uneasiness of the French intellectuals as to what is happening grow plainer and plainer. Never was man in a harder position than Wilson. He well knows the need of haste. If there were any doubt of it the events at Glasgow and Belfast would have settled that. Yet how can there be haste when one considers the extraordinary magnitude of the issues and problems? Wilson is between the devil and the deep sea. Much skepticism of eventual results is found in the American newspaper ranks in Paris. This discouragement is increased by the fact that while Lloyd George is in close relation with the British correspondents, the Americans are never permitted to see the head of our delegation and draw from him inspiration and encouragement. In short, what we are witnessing is the Wilson method and manner of governing, which has so irritated and often angered Congress and public men at home, applied to the world field. There is every evidence that people here do not like it either. There are open mutterings that this American Wilson is the greatest dictator the world has ever seen.

The rank and file of the conference are more and more irritated as it becomes plain that most of the work is being done by a self-appointed committee of President Wilson and the Prime Ministers and envoys. They have grown this week into a full-fledged court. Representatives of a country or group appear to state their case, and in some instances a decision is rendered without referring the matter to the conference at all. The conference has yet to hold its third full session, last week's having been postponed at the last minute without even the return of money at the box office or the offering of rain checks. Thus runs the complaint every hour. Yet the fact remains that if the American dictator were not here this would simply degenerate into the worst scramble for the division of spoils ever seen. If Wilson did not show this obstinate determination to have his way there would be no hope left for an embattled world except outright revolution against the Governments here represented.

This is not to say that the only way to fight a battle is Wilson's way of fighting. He compels the admiration of the people for his courage, ability, and oratory, but the people near him are not drawn to him by ties of affection and personal devotion here any more than in the United States. Yet one wonders what will happen when he goes home, which will now be soon. Is the conference to mark time until he returns? Or is Colonel House strong enough to carry on for Wilson in his absence, or will it be the opportunity for the reactionary forces to proceed as they like? The leading men will not want to await his return. The outcry of peoples and armies who want matters settled will become louder than ever.

Some of the best French people insist that the terms for Germany must be laid down soon if the public is to remain patient. This unrest is also echoed in the report that this week will see the completion of the rough draft of the proposed league, so that Wilson may be able to show it when he returns. But no one here has any conception of what its final form will be. Obviously if the league plan is hastened in this way the best results cannot be obtained. Here again we have a conflict between the existing world situation and the need for deliberation. More than that, I cannot insist too strongly that details will mean everything. Take, for example, the question of mandatories. If the mandatory is merely to be told to take the ward and do with it as he pleases, there will be practically no change. The great victory won by Wilson in compelling Japan, Australia, and England to accept the mandatory system will be a Pyrrhic one if the duties and powers of the mandatory are not clearly defined. If territory is to be handed over to syndicates and trusts to be exploited as in the past, what will be the difference from the past except that the nations will not have direct title to the property? And there will indeed, presumably, be the possibility of appeal to a high court when there is misgovernment. But who, for instance, is to pay the bills of non-self-supporting colonies, the mandatory or the league itself? These and many other pressing questions begin to present themselves as the mandatory plan is studied. People in America should understand that we are but at the beginning of a long fight. Americans should be proud that America beyond all others is standing for the right, and that Wilson has won two vital points in principle.

Wilson is shouldering tasks no other man has essayed; perhaps no other could essay them. His defects and errors must be borne with and the world must be as patient as possible, particularly America and sorely tried France. The French may be right that it would have been better to decide Germany's fate at once and then settle down to a slow and careful creation of new world machinery. But Wilson is doing what seems best to him. It is true that he has been stupidly deprived of the aid of the American press and that he has consented to dealing in private—which privacy makes directly against him. But when all is said and done he still has the confidence of all the liberals here. He is the only hope that the outcome will be anything else than an utterly disastrous defeat for liberalism everywhere. It is a time neither for undue elation nor for pessimism, but for gratification that we have won what we have and a clear cut realization that there are tremendous difficulties and odds against us in the struggle for the right. At any rate people everywhere should realize that the present status of the world, however trying, is infinitely better than it was only three months ago.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

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Foreign Correspondence

Views of English Labor Leaders

London, January 16

ORGANIZED labor is already at work trying to forestall an oversupply in the labor market. The special conference of the Miners' Federation at Southport demanded: nationalization of the mines, restoration of discharged soldiers to their former positions in the collieries; miners displaced by the returned soldiers to be given wages by the state until they find employment; a six-hour day. Far from being discouraged, labor has its back up. There are all sorts of deep grumblings and mutterings from the workingmen's leaders. Although beaten at the polls (though not really so badly, considering the odds, as we at home are led to believe), they are as powerful as ever, because they have their unions with millions of workmen back of them.

I had a talk with one of the most prominent of the labor leaders before he crossed the channel—J. H. Thomas, head of the Railway Employees Union. He said:

The demobilization was badly planned at first, in that it did not provide for the men who had been longest in the war. This has been somewhat alleviated now. However, they are not discharging any 23,000 men a day. That is an overstatement, I think. And unemployment is on the increase. The war industries have not yet discharged workers in great numbers, but they have discharged a great many women, who have not as yet been provided with any new jobs. The immediate future is not so worrisome; but after some months we shall have great problems to face. Over eighty per cent. of the adult population have been either in the army or in war work. How to take care of them and make the shift to peace time is what we have to work out. We are sitting on a safety valve. The situation contains grave elements of danger.

The war has in many respects had a deplorable influence, giving profiteers and hate-breeders a chance, under cover of patriotism, to do their work and stifle liberalism and freedom of thought and action. I think we, your country and the others, have gone backward, have been brutalized by war. But we, the labor men, are going to make a fight for the right kind of peace now. It doesn't matter that Ramsay Macdonald was beaten. He and the others will come back strong again, you may rest assured.

Yes, I believe in a league of nations, and I feel sure that this matter of the league is in really sincere hands in those of Robert Cecil. The British Government has a detailed plan for the league, perhaps more detailed than that of any other country. We are going to fight for a true league, not merely an alliance, called a league. We shall propose the necessary economic measures which must be the foundation of a league, such as the pooling of colonial resources, and the reduction of tariffs. Civilization must be rescued from the suicide of another war, by a real league. Meanwhile Germany must be fed. On that we are all agreed.

Of course, I know what is going on now in Paris, and that probably there is bargaining for spoils. But labor will fight that. That is why we have called a labor conference in Switzerland. I think delegates from all countries must be admitted. This conference will act as a check on the Paris conference, and show that conference that while peace has come in one sense, no real, lasting peace is possible unless just economic and territorial arrangements are arrived at. Oh, we may have a little wrangle about whether the conference shall or shall not be held. In the end, however, we shall be allowed to hold it.

As to Russia, labor's attitude has always been the same. We believe in letting each nation work out its own problems. We are now for cessation of intervention, although we deprecate the excesses that seem to have been perpetrated in Russia by the Bolsheviks. Oh, yes, the word Bolshevik has been used here, as in your country, to brand everything that smacks of radicalism. Every demand by the laboring classes is so labelled. But, none the less, we intend to remake the world on a better model. Yes, we believe in the nationalization of the mines.

On the other hand, I talked a bit with Mr. Sidney Webb, who is, of course, one of the moving intellectual forces behind the labor movement, and he appeared decidedly optimistic in his outlook. He thought the problems of industry would surely straighten themselves out—on a purely socialistic basis, of course. He said that, after all, the surtax had shown itself almost inexhaustible. There was no end to it. England's productivity had been in some directions increased by war necessities. The people with great incomes would simply pay and continue to pay, so that the laborer would get and continue to get a greater share of the profits. He foresaw no overproduction on account of the great scarcity of everything abroad and at home. He thought the Government would never dare to allow wages to be reduced. On the contrary, the workers, having acquired the technique of making the well-to-do pay, would force greater and greater concessions.

Here you have the two limits of feeling among the labor people. Rather amusing it was, after speaking to Mr. Thomas, to try to get something out of Mr. Gompers, who was stopping at our hotel. Where men like Webb and Thomas are quite definite about their projects and ideas, Mr. Gompers wraps himself in generalities. I asked him definitely as to whether he and his committee favored the labor conference at Berne. At first he said that he thought not; then he took that back and said that they had it under consideration. When I asked him whether, if his committee decided in favor of such a conference, they would consent to having Central Power delegates sit in it, he answered me cryptically: "If a man doesn't know yet whether he's going two miles, how can he decide whether he's going ten miles?"

I have not said much about the attitude of the country toward the peace conference in Paris. The labor people seem very hopeful. They pin their hopes to President Wilson and their congress at Berne, which they imagine will be a kind of check on Paris. I have not obtained anything definite from any one on the question of the economic basis of permanent peace and the league of nations. Mr. Webb seemed to think that tariffs and colonial resources mattered very little; things would be made where they could be most profitably made, and would go where they were wanted. The only danger, he thought, would be that, owing to upset conditions, things might go, not where they were most needed, but where the best price would be offered. This, he thought, would have to be internationally regulated. He did not appear worried that this or that country might be deprived of access to certain raw products. However, he added that the British Empire had every possible raw material except platinum and petrol. This statement I modified by saying that with Mesopotamia Britain would have all the petrol she needed. He did not appear averse to the idea that Britain should annex Mesopotamia. I got the impression that he was really much less an internationalist than a nationalist.

HENRY G. ALSBERG

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In the Driftway

IN the summer of the year 1906 the Czar dismissed the first Duma, and, after changing the electoral law, called together a new and much revised representative body. To this second Duma Roman Dmowski was enthusiastically elected. Early one Sunday morning the Drifter drove down to the station with the great Polish leader. The Russian police authorities had warned the Polish people that there must be no demonstration of any kind. There was no demonstration. The streets were deserted. A few pious people were on their way to Church. Near the bridge the habitual Polish Jews in their long, close-fitting coats were trading lame horses. We arrived at the station. The luggage was checked amidst the smell of leather and the solid grin of many armed soldiers, guarding the waiting room, guarding the ticket office, guarding everything the terrorists might carry away in one of their sudden and violent raids. The train was ready. Dmowski got in. A few officers and their wives got in. Four gendarmes brought two heavily manacled peasants to a closed carriage. They started upon the first stage of their long journey to beyond-the-Urals. It was a dreary scene. Dmowski pulled out amidst an icy silence accompanied by the fervent wishes of his long-suffering countrymen. . . . When the Drifter saw Dmowski again he came as the representative of a new and free state—as the herald of a better time for his stricken country. There was another difference. The former defender of a lost cause had become the successful politician of to-day.

* * * * *

TWELVE years ago when the Drifter was watching that earlier Polish attempt at independence, he heard many discussions of Poland's past, present, and future size. The man who had the greatest number of figures at his command was Roman Dmowski, well-trained in the Teutonic school of helpful and suggestive statistics. According to him there were between twenty-two and twenty-five million Poles, equally divided among the vast stretches of territory which reach from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Since then Dmowski and his figures have come to glory and according to recent dispatches from Paris the Allies accept some twenty millions as the number of living Polanders. And now the Paris cables tell us that Paderewski and his party have won a great electoral victory. Fifty per cent. of the vote went to them and only fifteen per cent. to the Socialists, who had been in power thus far. This means quite a success among the "435,000 eligible voters." But when the Drifter reflects that not less than half the inhabitants of Poland, or ten millions in all, must be of voting age, he wonders what has become of the nineteen million five hundred and sixty-five thousand others. Has the Bolshevist-Spartacide corruption fund now reached Poland and induced faithful Poles to stay away from the Polls?

* * * * *

THE Drifter always had a secret ambition to become a publisher, grow rich, and buy a farm on Long Island. At last his chance has come. He has acquired the exclusive rights to the greatest war novel of the age. It is entitled "The Diplomatic Adventures of Herron and me," by William Allen White, of Emporia, Kansas. Bound in asbestos and calf. Picture rights reserved. THE DRIFTER

Vengeance

From the French of Victor Hugo.

By HENRY HAYWOOD GLASSIE

La hache? Non, jamais. Je n'en veux pour personne,
Pas même pour ce csar devant qui je frissonne,
Pas même pour ce monstre à lui-même fatal.

Vengeance! Ah, no! Not even on him who filled
The world's wide spaces with unmeasured woe.
Should Death the gates of hell unbar and cry—
Whose head—of people or of King—wilt throw
Into my carrion pit? *Neither*, I reply,
My law is life, my joy the unstained dawn
Where glows God's light, not blood, on hill and lawn.

'Tis not for me to choke the charnel house
Or swell the unnumbered legion of the dead.
I shall be none of those to whom by night
The grateful earth-worm turns his sightless head,
The flesh-devouring worm that haunts the grave,
Where, through the dark, putrescent fires wave.

The thinking soul of man, that final court,
For all blood-guilt hath but a single word.
Peoples and kings alike it blames who kill
Nor heeds the glory of the avenging sword.
Cruel wrongs endured absolve no wrong
When, in their turn, the weak become the strong.

Correspondence

Child Labor, America's Anachronism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With an unemployment problem imminent, child labor unmasks itself as America's most flagrant anachronism. Not a single adult should be discharged from work, or should be permitted to remain idle, as long as one child is employed. Not a child should be at work as long as a single adult is idle. After we have spent lives by the thousands and dollars by the billions with the avowed purpose of making the world safe for democracy, child labor can no longer be tolerated. Democracy implies at the least the opportunity for each child to develop to his fullest capacity and usefulness. No time could be more propitious than the present for the abolition of child labor.

Our triumph abroad is complete. Only at home can it increase. Every safeguard that we throw about our children, every new advantage that we give them, is just so much more victory, just so much gain for democracy. Surely the coming Congress will abolish child labor. But the story should not end with the abolition of child labor. The thousands of American children whom this benevolent measure would throw out of work should not be left to shift for themselves in aimless idleness. In many parts of the country they will find no schools available; and nowhere is there an adequate system to give these children the kind of education and training which America should demand for them. Immediate legislation should be undertaken to provide for nation-wide compulsory education, including continuation schools, industrial training, and such preparation for life as American children have the right to ask.

V. I. P.

New York, January 2

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Justice Has Been Done—Canal Street Is Regained

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: The *New York Times* this morning prints the following news item:

"WANTS SEPARATE STATE MADE OF THIS CITY

Senator Dunnigan offers bill in Albany to create a new State.

(*Special to New York Times*)

Albany, January 31.—Senator John J. Dunnigan of New York introduced a bill in the Senate to create a forty-ninth State out of New York city. The proposed State would include the counties of New York, Bronx, Kings, Queens, and Richmond. The remainder of the State could, under the terms of the bill, retain the name 'New York.'"

I beg to thank the *Nation* for the widespread publicity this prominent liberal paper has given my plea for a belated deed of justice towards poor Holland, torn from her rightful possessions along the banks of the Hudson. I beg to thank Senator Dunnigan for giving me more than I ever dared claim. I beg to assure Mr. Stevenson, who no doubt will associate this little transaction with the Irish-German-Dutch propaganda in this country, that I never saw or heard of Senator Dunnigan until this morning. I beg to thank my many friends for their words of encouraging optimism during the dark days of waiting. I promise that we (as the natural heirs to Senator Dunnigan's new State) shall maintain a most friendly and benevolent attitude towards the rest of the United States. And as a first act of just retribution I shall see to it that a statue of Senator Dunnigan be placed in every public square of our new and glorious domains. Tyl Uilenspiegel, jr.

Hypolitushoef, Wieringen, January 31

The Bourbons of Dixie

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In a recent editorial dealing with "The Suffrage Collapse in the Senate," you say: "A close analysis would, we think, show that it is the color line which has again defeated this reform."

I make so bold as to say that the "color line" had absolutely nothing to do with the action of the Southern Bourbons on the Suffrage Amendment; that it was nothing more than a demogogic grandstand play to camouflage their real opposition to this reform, which opposition is based, not on "color lines," but on their enmity to the spread of democratic institutions. And I assert this, for one thing, for the simple reason that the extension of the suffrage to the women of the South would in no manner, shape, or form alter those sections of the Constitutions of the Southern States by which the Negro and colored peoples are disfranchised. The striking out of "male" from these alleged Constitutions would not change the fact that all the Southern franchise laws are as clearly based on Property, and not on Man, as were ever those of Russia or Japan.

Where did you Northerners get the idea, anyhow, that these disfranchising enactments were aimed solely at the Negro? If you will look under the surface of things a little, you will at once see that all these laws were aimed at the Working Class, regardless of the color of its skin or whether or not it wore pants or skirts.

I repeat: The "color line" had absolutely nothing to do with the stand of the Southern Senators against woman suffrage. Their stand was dictated by the Bourbon's hatred for everything that savors of true democracy, and by absolutely nothing else in the world.

Dallas, Texas, December 1. Covington Hall

British Labor and the Soviets

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: At a forum held in this city some time ago some one asked Arthur Gleason why the British Labor party had not backed the Soviet Government. His reply was that conflicting reports of conditions in that country demanded that they withhold judgment. However, I can suggest other reasons. Perhaps you will give them publicity in your columns.

1. Bolshevist Government is a pure working class achievement. The British Labor party are a mixed group and they naturally fear that if Bolshevism should get a foothold in England it would spoil their one particular brew of democracy (a causeless fear, it would seem, as England has in the British Labor party what it needs, and Russia has in the Soviet what it needs).

2. It is not for the interest of the British Labor party to have Bolshevism succeed. It is as far from their position as theirs is from Gomperism. It is not logical to expect them to back the Bolsheviki; to back the Mensheviki? yes!

3. Moreover they know that under a system such as is in power in their country and ours they cannot give any real help to such a movement. They know their limitations, as President Wilson knew his when he sent the message to the Soviets. Rather than go further, they may go the other way and be found hampering the Soviet Government, under the armistice terms.

New York, December 10 Emmanuel Jochelman

A Note of Tasso's

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Among the unpublished manuscripts of the Dreer Collection in Philadelphia is to be found the following note in the hand of Torquato Tasso, taken from "Marzilli commentarii in Platonis Timaeum," Basle, 1554, folio 286.

Videtur hic Plato gravitatem appelare inclinationem et lationem elementorum ad proprium locum sive ad medium sive a medio. Hoc confirmat sen [tentia] quae leve appelat quod violentiae cedit et contra propriam inclinationem molitur manum.

"Plato here seems to call heaviness the trend or bearing of elements to their own place, whether towards the middle or away from the middle. This is confirmed by the sentence which calls that light which yields to force and which raises the hand against its own natural tendency downwards." The first sentence referred to is found in the "Timaeus," cap. 53, translated by Jowett: "When the close and heavy particles are borne away and settle in one direction and the loose and light particles in another." The second sentence quoted is in cap. 63: "When two things are simultaneously raised by one and the same power, the smaller power must necessarily yield to the superior power with less reluctance than the larger; and the large body is called heavy and said to tend downwards, and the smaller body is called light and said to tend upwards."

On the classical motto *ex pede Herculem*, so well exemplified by Huxley's lecture on a piece of chalk, I might start from this note as a text and reconstruct Tasso's whole philosophy; his Platonism (see W. Boulting: "Tasso and his Times," 1907, p. 106), his interest in natural science, and his vicious method of deriving his science from authority rather than from experiment. I might deduce the nature of Tasso's genius from his love of Plato rather than of Aristotle, and from that his madness, and afterwards the whole spirit of the decadent Renaissance in Italy. But these problems I shall modestly leave to scholars in this special field and content myself with communicating a tiny fragment, valuable only for the sake of the great man who once penned it. Preserved Smith

New York, January 2

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"Tranquillizing the People"

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In the months preceding the Congress of Vienna (1814) men were holding fair dreams of a permanent peace, an international tribunal, and partial disarmament, just as they are to-day. How these dreams were realized is best expressed in the words of the Secretary of the Congress, Fred. von Gentz: "The grand phrases of 'reconstruction of the social order,' 'regeneration of the political system of Europe,' 'a lasting peace founded on just division of strength,' were uttered to tranquillize the people and to give an air of dignity and grandeur to the solemn assembly; but the real purpose of the Congress was to divide amongst the conquerors the spoils taken from the vanquished." To understand "why the hopes of so many enlightened men, but more or less ignorant of Cabinet secrets, have been so cruelly disappointed, one must know the designs which the principal Powers had in presenting themselves on this great battlefield." What these designs were, how the Powers ignored the rights of the peoples, and cynically remade the map of Europe to suit their dynastic and territorial ambitions, is known to even the casual student of history. The result was a hundred years of intermittent war for Europe!

The only Power whose policy was at all unselfish was England. In view of her strength and recent success England could, to quote von Gentz again, "have given the law to all Europe." Instead she astonished the assembled diplomats by the moderation of her demands. This disinterestedness not only amazed Napoleon but aroused his contempt. Discussing the matter freely at St. Helena, the only explanation he could find was England's insular simplicity.

The real explanation lies in the fact that England's representative, Lord Castlereagh, alone had his hands tied by responsibility to Parliament and public opinion. "The spectre of Parliament," wrote Talleyrand to his home Government, "that ever haunts him, renders him timid."

The English people were not bent on territorial gain or determined on any given territorial arrangement for Europe. They were, however, profoundly interested in the abolition of the slave trade. In Castlereagh's words, "meetings were held in nearly every village to insist upon his exercising his authority to secure abolition." Wilberforce, at this time, was almost the keeper of England's conscience and Wilberforce was never more active or more alert.

The representatives of the other Powers could not understand Castlereagh's interest in such a trivial matter and scented some ulterior design (they suspected that the English West Indies were well stocked while the islands she was restoring were not). To overcome Talleyrand's opposition, England even offered to cede Trinidad to France or to pay her two or three million pounds. In spite of heroic efforts, the best Castlereagh could obtain, however, was abolition by France in five years, by Spain in seven, and a general declaration by the Congress that the trade was "repugnant to the principles of civilization and universal morality."

Thus the one high-principled action taken by the Congress was due to the only Power subject to pressure from enlightened public opinion. The significance of all this to-day is obvious. "The Secret Treaties," so far as I know, have not been repudiated. There are influential politicians in all countries who lack the imagination or character to rise above the old order. They are still thinking in terms of national rivalries and ambitions. If we are to have a just peace and a league of nations liberal forces will have to bring constant pressure to bear. They will have to be "on the job" day and night, in season and out.

Fortunately, to-day, enlightened public opinion has the channels through which it can assert itself. It remains to be seen if it will. If it does not, we shall awake to find that we too have been "tranquillized." Chas. E. Payne

Grinnell College, January 2

Literature

Wisdom in War Time

Essays and Addresses in War Time. By the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O. M. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.

The first three papers in Viscount Bryce's new volume were written in the earlier years of the war, to explain to neutral countries the purpose of Great Britain and to justify her conduct. They contain only what is now very generally known, and what has been for the most part said many times; but it is presented here so clearly, so moderately and justly, that it seems almost a pity that these papers could not have been read in this country at a time when popular opinion was less well-informed. Why Great Britain went into the war, how Germany began and especially how she carried on the struggle, the two systems in conflict which neutrals must judge, what the outcome one way or the other would mean,—all these things are set forth with the calm reasoning and philosophic manner which we expect in the writings of Lord Bryce. He declares what has often been expounded by others, but until the very end of the war could not be reiterated too often: that any peace which would leave the military system and the military caste of Germany unbroken in credit and power, in prestige and ascendency over the German people, could be no more than a truce while the military caste repaired its losses.

Next come three addresses delivered in 1915 and 1916—one at the University of Birmingham and the others before the British Academy. In "War and Human Progress" the author discusses the long opposition, at least as old as Plato's time, between those who have believed that mankind would advance through application of ideas of justice and right and that good-will and peace should be sought in national and international life, and those others who have believed that selfishness and passion can never be much restrained, that order is secured only by force, that right itself is created by force, that most men must submit to the discipline of force in the hands of the few at society's top, and that in the last analysis war is not evil but necessary and good. This latter school finds much to support its contentions in the history of past centuries; and yet there was throughout the Middle Ages and also in more recent times a belief that peace must be the goal of a better future as once it existed in the Golden Age. The Christian fathers had hoped for it; Dante believed that it might be realized; and Kant and others drew up their plans for it, even as others arrange them now. But during the last two generations came a reaction. A school of thinkers arose who not only predicted the continuance of war, but who proclaimed that, far from being a thing to be got rid of as the world grew better, it was a necessary factor in the relations between States, something wholesome and socially valuable, no inevitable evil but a positive good, not to be expected merely and excused but desired for the benefits it gives to mankind—"a drastic medicine for the human race," "the greatest factor in the furtherance of culture and power." This modernized form of an old doctrine was based mostly upon arguments drawn from the realm of animated nature, the Darwinian ideas of natural selection and the struggle for the survival of the fittest, and from the history of the past. These two main arguments are examined by Viscount Bryce; and those who have reached their conclusion about this matter upon the basis of superficial consideration of such specious reasoning will profit greatly, we think, from reading the objections which the author raises one after another. Natural or scientific laws, difficult as they may be to determine correctly, are yet based upon factors comparatively few in number, but it is virtually impossible to apply them with any certainty to the infinitely complex manifestations of human society; the very principle of natural selection is not certainly understood, so that deductions continue to be hazardous; the struggle for life in the Darwinian sense is no struggle be-

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tween species but between individuals,—there is no contest between tigers and leopards, as between Teutons and Slavs; the supersession of one species by another is not effected so much by fighting as by adaptation to environment (Viscount Bryce notes that Darwin himself stanchly avowed that war was no factor in human progress); and difficult as it is to deduce correct lessons from history, the records of what has gone before seem to show that war retards progress and prosperity and that peace promotes them. These two presidential addresses before the British Academy contain much to repay perusal; but for the most part they merely direct attention to interesting things, which are then less discussed than adverted to.

The two concluding essays are published for the first time in this volume. There is an instructive discussion of the principle of nationality and its applications. The author recalls that seventy years ago, when despotism seemed the great enemy to human progress, liberals all over the world hailed what they began to call the principle of nationality, and believed that when it was realized all would go well with the world. But the good prospects were soon overclouded. Nationality proved far more difficult to realize than its advocates had expected, and it developed after a while dangerous tendencies at first unforeseen. It often led to disquiet and strife, until at last the overweening nationalism of Germany came to be the chief source of the greatest of wars. The wars of the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries were mostly religious, those of the eighteenth were dynastic, those of the nineteenth were entangled with questions of nationality. Nearly all of the problems awaiting solution now, at the end of this war, have to do with nationality also. It is therefore of the utmost importance to understand just what nationality is. Something founded not upon race alone, or upon language or religion, it can usually be recognized even though it cannot easily be defined. It is seen to be the sense of unity in the minds of a group of men that they are the conscious possessors of common qualities and tendencies marking off their group from others. This feeling has been gaining strength in recent times among groups of people whose aspirations have not been realized, and it has been intensified in nationalistic pride and vanity within great and independent States. The strength of the State, the size of the State, became sources of pride and things to be striven for by every means. Existing in all the great nations, politicians strove to turn this feeling to their account; but it reached its climax in Germany, where it became a potent instrument for the ruling military caste. The world has learned now that the spirit of nationalism, innocent and useful in moderation, is very dangerous when perverted or carried to excess. "Its indulgence has been almost as dangerous to peace as was its repression by the ignorant and short-sighted diplomatists of former generations." Better things, whether enduring peace or league of nations, will come as nationalism is restrained and purified "by the higher sentiment of an allegiance to mankind." There is consideration in Viscount Bryce's pages of the settlement to be made now, and how it can best satisfy legitimate national aspirations, the details of which are interesting enough but probably of little more value than those of many other plans put forth tentatively of late. Sinn Feiners will probably object that there is no urging of consideration for Ireland. Like most other liberals, Viscount Bryce believes that the dragon's teeth of future wars must not be sown now by violating principles of nationality at Germany's expense.

The author's most important contribution to the present volume concerns the establishment of a league to ensure peace. This essay is one among numerous writings which the wise and humane are now putting forth in the hope that mankind may be saved from destruction in another great war. Let us acknowledge at once that there are many objections to be made, not only by reactionaries, but by those who wish the best and also make close study of things as they are in this world. There are difficulties innumerable and so great that one might well despair of doing more than desiring a league of nations and stating one's ideal in general terms. Nevertheless, other great things have seemed almost as impossible in the past, and have been accomplished after proper effort and adjustment. Almost every one admits that another world war would probably be more terrible and destructive than the one which has just ended at the brink of civilization's downfall. And so it seems to us that the task required of the liberal and the wise everywhere is to give less consideration to difficulties and objections and more to the doing of everything that may lead to world peace and a league of nations, with the idea that there is some chance of success. It may be a chance and nothing more, but it is the best chance that mankind has for the future. As Viscount Bryce says, the objections that can be stated are not so great as those to be made against what we have at present. He considers the difficulties, and he does not expect complete and immediate success; but it is a hopeful sign that one with his long experience and unique opportunities to know the affairs of nations believes that such a thing must be attempted and that it may be made to succeed.

Viscount Bryce sums up his own conclusions as follows: war can be prevented only by using arbitration and conciliation to settle international disputes; behind these must be compulsive force derived from a league of nations; every member of the league must accept arbitration or conciliation in any controversy with another member; any member attacked without this resort must be protected by the league; the organs necessary for the league will be a tribunal to arbitrate in justiciable controversies, a council of conciliation to mediate in non-justiciable disputes, a representative body to amend and codify international law, and an executive authority. The best minds in all countries must address themselves to bringing this or something like it about, for an opportunity like the present may never return.

Rural Economy in India

The Economic Life of a Bengal District. By J. C. Jack. New York: Oxford University Press.

Land and Labour in a Deccan Village. By Dr. Harold Mann, in collaboration with others. New York: Oxford University Press. $2.

ABOUT three-fourths of the population of India is engaged in agriculture. If the number of those who follow occupations subsidiary to agriculture (and they form an essential factor of the village community) be included, the percentage of Indians engaged in or living by agriculture becomes still larger. Most of the population lives in villages, though there is no lack of large and populated cities.

Of the agricultural population the vast bulk consists of small farmers (proprietary and non-proprietary) whose holdings are, in the majority of cases, too small to enable them to earn a decent living. Speaking of the distribution of wealth in their joint report on the reorganization of the government of India, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford remark (page 112) that "the number of landlords whose income derived from their proprietary holdings exceeds £20 a year in the United Provinces (one of the most populated Indian provinces) is about 126,000 out of a population of 48 millions. It is evident that the curve of wealth descends very steeply, and enormous masses of the population have little to spare for more than the necessaries of life." Other authorities equally great (among them governors, lieutenant-governors, commissioners, and deputy commissioners) have left it on record that enormous masses of the population do not get even the necessaries of life. That there is appalling poverty in India is hardly denied, though it is not admitted that the poverty has increased under British rule. The Indian politicians, and those of the British publicists who are inclined to accept their point of view, have repeatedly demanded an exhaustive economic investigation, village by village, and town by town. Some such enquiry was attempted in

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the closing decade of the nineteenth century, and the result disclosed such a deplorable condition of things that it was considered impolitic to publish the material already collected. The late William Digby, however, managed to gain access to some of the material, and published it in his book ironically called "Prosperous British India." Since then several unofficial studies in Indian rural economy have been published, the two mentioned at the beginning of this article being the most recent, one dealing with a village in the northeastern part of India, and the other with one in the South.

Mr. Jack was a member of the Indian Civil Service who supervised the preparation of a record of rights of the district under study, from 1906 to 1910. Faridpur, the district investigated, contains over two million inhabitants and an area larger than Devonshire. It forms part of the province of Bengal, the richest of the provinces in India. The object of this inquiry (which was not authorized by the Government) seems to have been to collect data "for a defence of British rule against attacks made on it from the economic side." "The work of the British in India," says the author, "has only one counterpart in recorded history,—the Roman Empire, upon which historians have agreed to lay the blame that it sucked the orange of its provinces dry and left only the rind to its subjects. This book will not be written in vain if it proves that in one corner of India, at least, no such charge can be made against the British Empire."

The book is divided into five chapters, dealing with (1) the district and its inhabitants, their homes and manner of life; (2) the domestic budget: (3) the economic condition of the people as recorded by the statistics; (4) indebtedness; and (5) taxation. In the appendix are given the tables and the rules and instructions by which the investigators were guided.

For the purpose of this inquiry, the whole population was divided into four classes: (1) those who "live in comfort"; (2) those who, according to their low standards, "live below comfort"; (3) those who are "above want"; and (4) "those in want." The classification was based upon the apparent condition of the family as revealed by personal inspection rather than upon any calculation of income. Similarly, the domestic budgets were also arrived at by an examination of expenditure in selected families in the four economic conditions. It will thus be seen that the enquiry was more or less empirical. The population has been dealt with by families.

The result obtained is thus summarized: The total population brought under economic review was 1,861,183, included in 342,108 separate families; of this number 77% were agricultural, and 23% were non-agricultural. The average agricultural family consisted of 5.6 persons, and the average non-agricultural family of five persons. The average income per individual has been found by assuming five as the normal strength of each family. The average annual or the normal income of an agricultural family is estimated at $93.33, and that of a non-agricultural family at $98.

Of these 49% are classed as "living in comfort" on a weekly income of 48 cents per head; 28% "below comfort" on an income of 30 cents a week per individual; 18½% "above indigence" on an income of 21 cents per week each; and 4½% "in indigence" on an income of 15 cents per week for each individual. Of the purely agricultural families the averages are still less, and would have been even lower if the size of the family had been accepted, as it was found to be—5.6 and not 5. The author has invariably used fractions in such a way as to show larger incomes, and a larger percentage of those not in the grip of want.

We wish we had space to show the author's conception of the standard of comfort needed by the people of the district investigated; but, even accepting his standards, it appears that more than one-half of the people live on a standard lower than that of comfort. The book is valuable enough to show how the Anglo-Indian administration disproves or minimizes the uncontestable fact of the appalling poverty of the people of India.

Dr. Mann's book has a better claim to being based upon scientific methods of investigation. It deals with one village. The inquiry includes every person in the village, and the results are obtained after a careful tabulation of facts. It gives all information about the history of the village, the kind of soil, the means of irrigation, the number of families, adults and children, their budgets of expenditure, their incomes and debts. The village selected is a typical one, and the conclusion is that out of 103 families in the village "only 36 or just under 35% can pay their way on the standard they themselves lay down" and "the others are living below that standard." To be more exact, it is found that "only 8¾% are able to maintain themselves" on land alone, "27% on land plus outside labor, and 67% are always insolvent."

However imperfect and somewhat misleading these enquiries may be, they serve a most useful purpose and lead in the right direction. What is needed is light and knowledge. Reform along right lines can only be based on correct data. We unhesitatingly recommend these two studies to students of Indian economics. They throw light upon the economic conditions prevailing in India as nothing else does. One ounce of fact is much more weighty than pounds of rhetoric.

Cookery After the Armistice

Food and the War. By Katharine Blunt and Elizabeth C. Sprague. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 80 cents.
Economical Cookery. By Marion Harris Neil. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. $1.50.
The Cook's Economical Book. By Mary C. Davis. Boston: W. A. Butterfield.
One-Hundred-Portion War Time Recipes. By Bertha E. Nettleton. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $1.
Liberty Recipes. By Amelia Doddridge. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. $1.25.

UNLIKE many other publications engendered by the war, the cook books have not lost their value or even their timeliness through the signing of the armistice. Economy is as important as ever, since prices have not climbed down, and many of the formerly neglected foods (particularly cereals) and new combinations brought forward by the military situation have proved so valuable—so nutritious and palatable—that the war cook books deserve a permanent place on the housewife's shelves.

The most important of recent dietetic publications is the first on our list, which is intended as a textbook for college classes. It was prepared under the direction of the collegiate section of the United States Food Administration, with the coöperation of the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration, and it contains within its 379 pages an amazing amount of carefully classified information. The authors have had access to the records of the Food Administration, and have consulted freely with its officers. After discussing the world food situation, they write about the composition and functions of food, its fuel value, the meat situation, fats and oils, flour and bread, sugar, milk, vegetables and fruits, the principles of cookery and other topics, in a practical way and at the same time with a scientific grasp and comprehensiveness rarely found in books about food and feeding. Of great value to students of domestic science are the references after each chapter to literature on the subject. The general reader, too, will find in these pages much that is interesting,—such as the information that as much as two tablespoonfuls of sugar may be obtained from a large orange or from a fourth of a cup of raisins. Many will be glad to know that "the old idea that drinking water with meals is harmful has been proved incorrect"; also that the semi-starvation treatment of typhoid patients, having been found harmful, has been abandoned. Vitamines are fully discussed and so are proteins, concerning the nature and functions of which so much uncertainty has prevailed. It is interesting to read about the large

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American war gardens in France; appalling to read that American food waste has approximated $700,000,000 a year.

While realizing that "cookery is an art, and a very fine art too," Marion Harris Neil has written her "Economical Cookery" for those who, without claims to culinary artistry, have had a little experience and possess some common sense. No fewer than seven hundred inexpensive recipes, all of them personally tested and endorsed by the author, who was formerly cookery editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, are gathered in her 346 pages. Introductory chapters on "How to Choose Our Food" and "The Processes of Cookery" enhance the value of this volume for beginners.

While Mrs. Mary C. Davis's "The Cook's Economical Book" is good as far as it goes, there is nothing individual or new about it that calls for comment. In the next volume on our list, Bertha E. Nettleton aims particularly to meet the needs of larger institutions, hospitals, canteens, and community kitchens; which accounts for the fact that her recipes begin with such seemingly astonishing demands as "50 to 70 tomatoes," "hot mashed potatoes, 32 lbs," "mutton, 15 lbs." They are planned to allow for one hundred generous portions.

"Patriotic Cakes and Cookies" is the heading of one section of "Liberty Recipes," by Amelia Doddridge, who declares that since all the recipes in her little book "are tried and true, they should be usable and still practical even after the war clouds pass." Her "mock graham bread" sounds odd, but it's all right; and so are sweet potato bread, carrot salad, and other up-to-date dishes featured by her.

Nightmare Stuff

Danger! and Other Stories. By A. Conan Doyle. New York: George H. Doran Company. $1.50.
The Apartment Next Door. By William Johnston. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. $1.50.
The Solitary House. By E. R. Punshon. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.
Sinister House. By Leland Hall. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $1.50.

WE have recently commented on the fact that the literary quality of stories of mystery and detection seems to be improving. For all his banality of style, Conan Doyle did much towards lifting this kind of fiction from a game of artifice to something a degree better. His construction was sound, and he knew how to give at least a theatrical plausibility to his persons. There are two tales in his new miscellany that quite do him justice as a professional curdler of the blood. "The Surgeon of Gaster Fell" is a story of atmosphere, of a terrifying experience in a lonely and ill-omened moor-country. The mystery has the simplest of solutions, and the narrator gives it at the end with the air of childlike ingenuousness which is not the least engaging of his traits, or mannerisms. More ingenious and original is "The Horror of the Heights." Its time is set somewhat in the future, when airplanes shall have been vastly improved, and pilots shall have made all sorts of records unknown in our day. The thirty thousand foot level has been reached many times, and there have been greatly higher flights. But some of these have ended disastrously and mysteriously. Aviators have been found strangely mangled, or have in some instances disappeared outright, though their planes have been recognized after crashing to earth. An Englishman, to whom flying is not a sport but an opportunity for scientific observation and experiment, develops a secret theory that these disappearances are due to direct causes, that in certain regions there are "jungles of the upper air, and there are worse things than tigers which inhabit them." How he tests this theory, finds strange and horrible denizens of those thin airs, and finally exposes himself to them with evidently fatal results, is learned from a blood-stained notebook found with other relics in an English field. Nightmare stuff! The title-story, "Danger!" was written some years before the war, and presaged the possible menace to England of submarine warfare, through attacks on merchant shipping.

"The Apartment Next Door" is hardly more than the conventional sort of war-mystery story, dealing with German spies, plots to blow up New York, secret service men, and the like. But it is less perfunctorily done than is common, and has an excellent surprise-turn at the end for any reader who has not permitted himself to guess too much. The current method is employed of putting the solution of the mystery into the hands of an innocent bystander, who stumbles upon more evidence than the professional sleuths are able to ferret out with all their machinery of detection.

"Sinister House" and "The Solitary House" are mystery tales in which the official detective plays no part whatever. They gain their effect by cumulative means, piling up, at it were, stratum on stratum of horror and suspense until the breaking-point is reached. They miss the highest possible effectiveness by failing to "time" that breaking-point. "The Solitary House" has an excellent layout for a mystery story, though its initial situation does not, on examination, prove to be of the freshest. The youth who happens upon the empty but still warm nest in the wilderness —the cottage but now deserted by unknown occupants—and makes himself at home, and thereby begins a romantic adventure, is not a novelty. But the author of this story fairly "unloads" him on us as such. For one thing, his brisk, good-humored style—the style, say, of Anthony Hope in his young days—persuades us that there is no nonsense about this business, extraordinary as it may be. This house, visible at a single angle from a lonely road, and flanked by a wood which has an evil name, is such a house as might be. This young Englishman tramping that road in rags is plausibly accounted for. He spies the house from the road, makes his way to it through the wood (a terrifying wood), and finds it vacant. Food is on a table, windows are open—its occupants are but now gone. Who are they? Why have they gone, and where? Here, at all events, are food and clothing and a clean bed. He determines to pass a night there; and his troubles begin. Involved in them, of course, is a lovely maiden, who has not been slow in appearing on the scene. But the main thing is the mystery of the wood, in which, by neighborhood report, there have been several strange disappearances. Something terrible and evil is there, which enters the house at night despite all locks and bars, and shows an unpleasant tendency to strangle people in their sleep. The exposition and the earlier scenes of the story are very skilfully contrived. How swiftly and consistently Poe or Stevenson in their different ways would have carried the action to a fitting conclusion! This writer has a different formula,—to make 'em shudder and then to let 'em giggle. Towards the end, with his fantastic pursuit of a wild man by a tame one, and all the rest of it, the performance degenerates into a fatuously romantic hodge-podge. The author of "Sinister House" is not guilty of this sort of incontinence. He has planned his effect and goes straight for it. He wishes to tell a spook story, a serious one, from the point of view and with the accents of the ordinary American citizen. This could not be done literally, of course; but the effect should have been given more consistently than it is in the speech of the narrator, supposed to be a commonplace young married man of suburban soul. In one breath he says: "There was a very noticeable element of tenderness in him which might belie what, for the sake of my argument, I must call alertness as against an inexorable hostility"; and in the next: "Believe me, I was miserable, that's all; just plain miserable, and sort of loco with it." We suspect the author's idea of the story-teller changed as he went along,—a pity, for with more consistency of manner this would have been an extraordinarily impressive ghost-story. We suspect also, from internal evidence, that the author meant to call his tale "The Singing House," a far more original and fitting title, but, we suppose, less catchy from a publisher's point of view.

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Books in Brief

WHOEVER likes to read a thoughtful book from the author's point of view should open Professor G. H. Palmer's "Formative Types in English Poetry" (Houghton Mifflin; $1.50) at the last chapter. There Mr. Palmer asserts of Browning's "The Ring and the Book" that "in scope and majesty it takes no presumptuous place beside the glories of our earlier poetry, with 'Troilus and Creseide,' 'The Faery Queen,' 'King Lear,' and 'Samson Agonistes.'" In our opinion, variety and intensity, rather than "scope and majesty," are the words to characterize Browning's master-work. For it is dominated, as Mr. Palmer emphasizes, by the conception that "what is true for one of us will not be true for another . . . reality is always relative." But "King Lear" is dominated by the perception of "reality" which is true for all of us; hence its scope and majesty. Mr. Palmer seems quite unaware of this objection. The fact is that his own point of view (see page 24) is closely akin to Browning's (see page 308): it is that of extreme individualism reinforced by psychological zest. Therefore his book, in spite of its title and its professedly objective method, gives a biased view of the main development of English poetry. Browning appears as its inevitable and notable climax; Chaucer and Spenser as its naïve and rather thin beginnings. These two poets, being remote from nineteenth century individualism, fare very badly indeed at the author's hands; he notes no value in their grasp and their representation of general truths underlying human life. He finds Chaucer interesting mainly because he tried to copy "reality," and Spenser because he tried to get away from it,—the word "reality" being used throughout to denote simply the come and go of actual life. On the other hand, Pope, in spite of his classicism, is presented warmly and veraciously. This is partly because of the author's appreciation of restraint and clearness in poetic style, but mainly because of his keen sympathy with Pope's problems as an individual man. But his bias comes out in the assertion that "about in proportion as English poetry becomes clear and simple, it becomes doubtfully sincere." And the remaining chapters are mostly concerned with tracing the individualistic tendencies in English poetry, in connection with Herbert, Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning. For Herbert and the other so-called metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century the author has a strong predilection on account of what he terms "their realistic individual aim." The sequel of this is Tennyson's preoccupation with individual moods, and the climax is Browning's unparalleled power of representing "the complex and unstable unity of an individual person." We wish that, dismissing the machinery he has used in this work, Professor Palmer would write a book commenting intensively upon particular poems. He would thus be able to convey to us more effectually his long and rich personal experience with the poets,—to whom, as he says, "I have listened only as an amateur."

IT is well to be reminded, as Mr. C. Delisle Burns reminds us in "The World of States" (Stokes; $1), that "the present political situation is only a momentary stage in the history of a race which inhabits a small planet." The situation has no finalities, tragic or otherwise. It is only the phenomenon of a few groups of people learning that certain changes have taken place, and that life, if it is to be lived with any decent success, must adjust itself to these. What approach there is to momentary tragedy lies in this, that the learning is not universal; that, in the case of no inconsiderable number of persons, the transformation of Fact has not led to a corresponding transformation of Idea. During the past century, men of all groups have been brought more closely into contact. Nevertheless, only a small proportion of thought and popular interest has been given to the growing contacts of States as compared with the thought and labor spent on internal political reform. The main reason for this has been that men have continued to regard the State, with Renaissance mysticism, as a thing in and for itself. The "other" has been alien and enemy. The claim of nationality, for example, has been the claim not simply to be different, but to be opposed. The claim of economic security has been the claim of the State not merely to live, but to depress and hinder the living of other States. The problem of the present is, in large measure, a psychological one,—to grow new ideas about the "world of States"; and, in the first place, to realize that while each State has absolutely distinct interests, all States have interests in common. The problem of "sovereignty" is simply the problem of distinguishing the local from the universal. In the face of world-embracing interests such as sanitation, communication, transportation, trade, and so on, exclusive sovereignty is but a ridiculous remnant of antique isolations. So likewise with the prevailing notions about "defence." "In time of peace prepare for war" is a sin against all that is most fruitful and enduring in the common life of groups. "In time of peace organize for a greater peace" rids us of the futile absurdity of States conceived as, in essence, hostile. "The final issue," says Mr. Burns, "is the attitude which civilized men and women are to adopt towards the problems of world politics." Why? Because no fundamental problem of intra-State politics can any longer draw about itself the magic ring of a secure exclusiveness. But world politics are staggering in their complexity? Doubtless. Yet we can at least hold firm to two principles: (1) that, difficult as they are to lay hold of, social forces are intelligible and can be controlled: this saves us at once from apathy and from fatalism; (2) that the State exists for justice and liberty: this saves us from the political philosophies of economic power and military glory that have turned our common world into a shambles. Mr. Burns's book, though slight, is a real contribution to "the establishment of the political humanism" which is, by all odds, the greatest need of the present.

THERE is a vast amount of miscellaneous and much valuable information in Barrett H. Clark's anthology, "European Theories of the Drama" (Stewart & Kidd; $3.50). But whether the labor and care bestowed upon it were altogether worth while is a question which, fortunately, it is not necessary to answer. It is as a work of reference that the volume will be chiefly in demand. The copious bibliographies will prove exceedingly useful to students who wish to specialize in any particular course of dramatic reading. The general character of the work may be indicated in a sentence or two culled from the author's preface. "It has been my purpose," he says, "to select such texts and parts of texts as have been influential in shaping the technical form of plays in Europe, from Aristotle to the present time. These texts are arranged according to countries and as nearly as possible in chronological order, and are chosen, primarily, for their bearing upon technical form and execution, rather than upon ethics or æsthetics." He adds that he did not think it necessary to include consideration of the Oriental, Russian, Scandinavian, or American drama, and the reasons for this entirely wise determination are not far to seek. Most of the extracts which he reprints, with the possible exception of some of the translations from Spanish and Italian sources, will be perfectly familiar, of course, to all persons fairly well acquainted with general dramatic literature. Mr. Clark's selections, however, are in the main judicious, although some of them are more curious than precious. It is a pity, perhaps, that more fluent and attractive English versions of Aristotle and Horace could not have been provided. The translations of Buckley and Smart may be literally correct, but they are dreadfully pedestrian, and often obscure. One notably good translation is supplied by Beatrice Stewart MacClintock of Corneille's "First Discourse on the Uses and Elements of Dramatic Poetry," which really does justice to the original. And it may be added that for sound common sense, independence of judgment, and practical grasp of the subject, this paper is one of the most interesting in the whole collection, and will have the advantage of novelty to those who read in English only. This remark, of course, implies no reflection upon the worth of the scores of quoted passages that have long been classic. There are samples of nearly all the famous an-

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cients and moderns from Aristotle to Brunetière, who have contributed in any way to the enormous mass of dramatic literature. Mr. Clark is even scrupulous enough to quote Macaulay's somewhat superfluous protest against Charles Lamb's delightfully heterodox notions about the morality of the Restoration comedy. His anthology, within its inevitable limitations, is a complete and convenient thing of its kind, and at least indicates how infinitely elastic—apart from its few axioms—theories of the drama may be. It will serve a good purpose if it prompts its possessors to seek, like Desdemona, further information in a subject of which "by parcels she had something heard, but not intentively."

OUR own Chaucer died in 1400, Maître François Villon was born in 1431; so that in the matter of remoteness from our own times there is not so very much difference between the two, and we suppose that the French of Villon bears much the same relation in point of difference and difficulty to the French of our day as does Chaucer's English to our own vernacular. This, of course, applies only to Villon on his best behavior—Villon the Master of Arts, writing for other Masters of Arts and for kings and princes who, in return for his songs, stood more than once between him and the gallows. Villon, however, did not always write for the elect, but indited at least seven ballads for his fellow gangsters, the Brothers of La Coquille. These are written in the thieves' *argot* of the period, and have the disadvantage, from the point of view of the modern reader, of being, in the words of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," for the greater part "now totally unintelligible if, which may perhaps be doubted, it ever was otherwise." We do not think that any attempt has been made heretofore to translate these ballads into English, though at least one version in modern French has appeared. Therefore Jordan Herbert Stabler's "The Jargon of Master François Villon" (Houghton Mifflin; $5) is not uninteresting if only as breaking new ground. Of his version Mr. Stabler says in his preface: "In this translation into English verse of the Jargon of Villon, or in this attempt at a translation (for attempt it must be called since up to the present time no one has been able to find a definite meaning for many of the words and expressions in Jargon, and many of them may only be come at by surmise), I have tried rather to arrive at the true spirit of Villon than to quibble over a vague and oftentimes forever lost meaning of a word." A modest undertaking and bravely carried out. For those who prefer Villon in his more comprehensible moods, Messrs. Boni & Liveright have, in a new volume of the Modern Library (70 cents), supplied an excellent collection of translations from his poems by various hands, including three by Rossetti and ten by Swinburne.

FOR the three errors of modernity: imperialism, the quantitative standard, and materialism, in which Ralph Adams Cram finds the root causes of the late war, he proposes certain definite remedies in "The Sins of the Fathers" (Marshall Jones Co.; $1). For imperialism, as it existed in Germany till the other day, and as it still exists under specious democratic forms in England, France, and America, the remedy he proposes is the division of these huge, unwieldy empires into manageable units as dictated by nationality and other considerations. This would give us, he says, a Europe consisting of perhaps thirty independent sovereignties, presided over by "a permanent congress of ambassadors in some specific federal city over which it would have absolute control." The United States would "separate, perhaps, into four or five autonomous states, only bound together—with the other states of North America—under a central federal council." Incidental to imperialism is the quantitative standard, —the standard of power and not of perfection that characterizes a civilization which values quantity and not quality. For materialism Mr. Cram finds Puritanism largely responsible. "Materialistic modernism," he says, "is the product of those peoples that rejected Catholic religion, sacramental philosophy, beauty of every sort, and art in all its forms—the German states, England, and (of course much later) the United States." It is traceable, according to Mr. Cram, directly to the "rejection of that sacramental philosophy and that sacramental method which were the contributions of Christianity to the problem of human life, human development, human emancipation, and human redemption"; and "until a return is made to this way of thought and this mode of life, the efforts of man to rebuild the world on a firmer foundation will, however good his intentions, have issue in no enduring results."

BORN and reared in a clerical atmosphere, the Reverend Charles Lewis Slattery shows himself admirably at home in his reminiscent sketches of Phillips Brooks, Alexander V. G. Allen, Bishop Whipple, Bishop Hare, and others of their cloth, which go to make up "Certain American Faces" (Dutton; $1.50). Two of his lay teachers at Harvard, Royce and James, with a few other non-ecclesiastical persons of more or less note, also engage his attention, and the reader's. The human side of all these interesting characters is turned to the front, and the chapters thus resemble, by intention, A. C. Benson's "Leaves of the Tree" rather than Sprague's "Annals." The agreeably anecdotal author does not spoil a good story in the telling; quite the contrary, as when, in relating an incident of William James's youth, he elaborates and embroiders, to the extent of half a page, six lines from "A Small Boy and Others"—permissible enough except for the use of quotation marks to give seeming authenticity to what is really a misquotation.

THE "Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis" are interesting as reflecting the currents of thought and opinion in the so-called Reform wing of American Judaism. The Zionist issue, which is a shibboleth of modern Jews, was the subject of considerable discussion. A number of rabbis, particularly of the younger type, brought in a resolution thanking the British Government for the Balfour Declaration, and hailing the establishment in Palestine of "a centre for Jewish culture, and a favorable environment for the stimulation of Jewish literature, science, and art." This resolution was deemed contradictory to the old-time theology of Reform Judaism, which looks upon the dispersion of the Jewish people as a prerequisite for the realization of its religious mission, and was therefore voted down. "The mission of the Jew is to witness to God all over the world."

LINCOLN'S growth in power of literary expression, from the seeds of promise in the political "handbill" of 1832 to the ripened fruit of the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural, is well and clearly traced by Professor Luther Emerson Robinson in his "Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters" (Reilly & Britton; $1.50). The lesser achievements in verse are also noted, and an appendix gives adequate illustrations of both prose and poetic forms of composition. In no other single work has the subject been so fully discussed. The author contrasts the "touch of rusticity" evident in much of Lincoln's writing with the grace and purity of his expression "when his mind was moved to its highest points of feeling and sincerity." Yet this very element of rusticity in Lincoln must have contributed to the simplicity, directness, genuineness, of his loftiest utterances—as probably the author himself would admit.

TWO useful compilations of the messages and public addresses of President Wilson have recently become available: "President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses" (Doran; $2), with an introduction by Albert Shaw, and "President Wilson's Foreign Policy" (Oxford Press; $3.50), edited with an introduction and notes by James Brown Scott. Neither collection is complete; but the former is the fuller of the two, and has the additional advantage of an index, which Dr. Scott's volume unfortunately lacks. Each editor has supplied brief explanatory notes, and Dr. Scott adds an appendix of writings by other hands discussing various phases of President Wilson's foreign policy.

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Literary Notes

"The Gospel in the Light of the Great War," by Ozora S. Davis, appears among the Spring announcements of the University of Chicago Press.

Thomas Burke, the author of "Limehouse Nights," has completed a new volume of sketches called "Out and About London," which Messrs. Holt will publish next month.

A brief appreciation of Woodrow Wilson, "The Peace President," from the pen of the well-known English dramatic critic, William Archer, is promised for immediate publication by Messrs. Holt.

"Forty Days in 1914," which Messrs. Constable will issue immediately, is an account of the retreat from Mons and of the first Battle of the Marne, by Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, who himself took part in the operations.

"The Emblems of Fidelity" is the title of James Lane Allen's latest novel, which Doubleday, Page & Company promise for early issue. The same publishers also announce "Christopher and Columbus," a new novel by the author of "Elizabeth and her German Garden."

Mrs. J. Wilbur Chapman, widow of the noted evangelist, has authorized Dr. Ford C. Ottman of Stamford, Conn., to write the official biography of her late husband. Dr. Chapman and Dr. Ottman were lifelong personal friends, and closely affiliated in the interests of the Presbyterian Church.

"Lures of Life," by Joseph Lucas, is a collection of dissertations, some whimsical, some serious, on such subjects as happiness, self-denial, the New Democracy, old furniture and plate, the magic of words, an old Tuscan garden, and so forth. The book will shortly be published by T. Fisher Unwin of London.

A new volume in the English edition of the works of Anatole France, originally edited by the late Frederic Chapman, is soon to be published by John Lane Company. The series has been held up by the war, and by the illness and death of the late editor. The new volume is "The Amethyst Ring," translated by Miss B. Drillien. It is hoped that further volumes of the edition will follow at comparatively frequent intervals.

Arrangements have been completed for the celebration in New York on February 22 of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of James Russell Lowell. The details of the celebration have been intrusted to a special committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, consisting of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Augustus Thomas, William M. Sloane, and Robert Underwood Johnson. Invitations have been sent to all the leading men of letters of America, and to many in Great Britain also.

Nearly a year before his death Mr. Roosevelt made Joseph Bucklin Bishop, who had been his intimate personal friend and confidant for more than thirty years, his authorized biographer. He assigned to Mr. Bishop the exclusive use of his official and personal correspondence for writing the history of his life and public services. Charles Scribner's Sons, who will publish this official biography, have also under way a volume of letters written by Mr. Roosevelt to his children, with other material descriptive of the intimate domestic life of the Roosevelt household.

"The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815," by C. K. Webster, Professor of Modern History in the University of Liverpool, is announced for early publication by the Oxford University Press. This is one of a series of handbooks on countries and subjects likely to come under discussion during the peace negotiations, which have been or are being edited, under the general supervision of G. W. Prothero, by the Historical Section of the British Foreign Office, with the aid of expert scholars and that of the War Trade Intelligence Department and Intelligence Division of the Admiralty, and the Geographical Section of the General Staff. It is hoped to publish in the series other volumes which will be of use to the reader interested in international affairs.

From England we have tidings of a new monthly periodical, of a political character, which will run for one year and then be discontinued, "however successful." "Change" is its title, and the editors are John Hilton, of the Garton Foundation, and Joseph Thorp, founder of the Agenda Club. The purpose of the publication is "to provide a characteristic setting for the ideas of a group of younger thinkers and workers in the field of politics and industry, with the collaboration of the artists and the poets. The Editors aim at a presentation which is candid without malice, and has a fundamental seriousness mitigated by humor." Each issue will be devoted to a single phase of the new social order. Illustrations, largely wood-cuts printed from the original blocks, are a feature. The edition is limited to 1,000 copies, and subscriptions are entered only for the complete year. "Change" is published by The Decoy Press, Plaistow, London.

Art

Utter Unpreparedness

AFTER it had been frequently pointed out that the United States was doing nothing to record the war pictorially, a committee was at last named to select artists. Before this committee could suggest names or even hold a meeting, eight artists were appointed by an army officer and a magazine man. When the artists who composed the selection committee sent in their approved list, as they were finally asked to do, they were told that the greater number of the men they had named were over draft age and not available. So the army eligibles went, though only one or two had any experience of war work. These artist officers of the United States Army sent home their work and it is now touring the country. Much of it is beneath contempt, with here and there a few good though unimportant sketches. The excuse is almost universally made that these are mere sketches to be "worked up" by the artists when they get back.

What did the British do? They began by sending two of their most brilliant men to the front and then more and more. The work of twenty-four of these artists is now being exhibited in this country. These are not mere sketches. Clausen and Lavery are over sixty and each has finished paintings and drawings done on the spot. Bone and Orpen are far beyond our original military age, yet both have accomplished exactly what our officer artists failed to do. From Orpen we have a series of paintings which, technically as well as historically, are among the best things he has achieved. Bone's work all bears the mark of having been done on the spot. The two men have treated the same subjects—but how differently! MacBey was sent to Palestine and Nevinson was kept behind the lines, but both got character. Spencer Priyse and Brangwyn were probably the only ones who worked from memory, but all these and others, in their own fashion, have made artistic and historic records.

The difference in the two groups is that the British artists were properly trained, and our men were mostly untrained. It is the same in France; at the Arden Gallery the work of Forain and Steinlen has been shown. They were both too old to fight, but not too old to go to the front and draw, nor was Paul Renouard, who was sent to Verdun. These two nations have a great pictorial record of the war; we have some hundred sketches —commonplace for the most part—and the promise of future paintings to be done from them. The English paintings are the property of the nation and will be preserved in national museums. Ours are already being scattered. Could there be worse mismanagement?

JOSEPH PENNELL

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Drama

More Dunsany

"THE GOLDEN DOOM," "King Argimenes and the Unknown Warrior," and "The Gods of the Mountain" are the three Dunsany plays which Stuart Walker has chosen for his second bill at the Punch and Judy Theatre. None of these are new to New York audiences but they well deserve their second presentation. They have originality, distinction, and beauty. We question, however, the advisability of playing the three in one evening and so shortly after "The Laughter of the Gods." A condensed season of Dunsany is a strain—most of all on Dunsany. He is a master in his own realm, but his realm, like that of the kings to whom he is so partial, is very limited; a bird's eye view emphasizes its boundaries rather than its extent. We are struck by the similarity of themes and a certain monotony of method. A doom of the Gods is an impressive subject for a play. One's first experience of it thrills and frightens; but familiarity breeds contempt. After three consecutive plays of Dunsany we are as inured to dooms, so to speak, as we are to débutantes and no more afraid of them.

"The Gods of the Mountain" repeats the motif of "The Laughter of the Gods," but it is a more human and a more dramatic play. This time the Gods are made to act a lie instead of to speak one, but as before, their lie is made good and the counterfeit human presentments are turned to the stone images they have travestied. The moral of both plays is the same: Gods will be Gods. In "The Golden Doom" man has ceased to be the sport of the Gods; he is the victim of his own superstition. He reads portentous meanings into the trivial play of a child and acts accordingly. Undoubtedly afar off the Gods are still laughing, but this time it is at the cosmic jest; Men will be Men.

We may read many meanings into "King Argimenes and the Unknown Warrior," but without conviction. The play is theatrically effective and we suspect that is its main intention. It is planned for a single moment, the ghastly reaction of the new-crowned King and his followers to the news, "The King's Dog is dead!" It is a real thrill that the moment gives us. Dunsany is a master of thrills. But this time the sensation seems to be an end in itself and not part of a bigger intention.

T. H.

"Mis' Nelly of N' Orleans"

FEW actresses of the American stage have a larger personal following than Mrs. Fiske. Her appearance in a new play, therefore, must always be regarded as a theatrical incident of some importance. A host of her admirers filled the Henry Miller Theatre, the other evening, to welcome her as the heroine of Laurence Eyre's "Mis' Nelly of N' Orleans" and expressed their loyalty in frequent gusts of laughter and applause. They supplied, indeed, all the phenomena which generally indicate a popular success. How prophetic these were time alone can prove. Of the piece itself, a mixture of farce, romance, and fantastic melodrama, there is not much to be said, although it is a fairly amusing bit of extravaganza. But if it were written with the main intent of providing Mrs. Fisk opportunity for displaying the variety of her theatrical accomplishments it undoubtedly fulfils its purpose. The scene is laid in New Orleans at an indefinite date, presumably before the Civil War, and the action occurs in a beautifully painted set representing the garden of an old house in Charles Street. No more than a hint of the story, which is at once conventional and grotesque, need be given. Mrs. Fiske is Nelly Daventry, a reigning belle of the city twenty years before the rising of the curtain, who, having been jilted on her wedding morn by her Creole lover, Georges Durand (because of an unfounded suspicion) has ever since exiled herself in Paris. She now returns to mother an orphan niece, whom she discovers, to her intense indignation, to be secretly engaged to Félix Durand, son of her quondam lover, Georges, who is every bit as much opposed to the match as she is herself, and, in order to prevent it, has suborned an adventuress to charge his son with intended bigamy.

Nelly, famous in her youth for the freedom of her speech and the recklessness of her pranks, undertakes, with the collusion of the family priest, one of her former suitors, to unravel the fast and furious complications which ensue during the twenty-four hours following her arrival. Pretending, at first, to be old, lame, deaf, and partly blind, she presently reveals herself as the dazzling and audacious beauty of her prime, excites in the passionate Georges alternating paroxysms of rage and remorse, bewitches the youthful Félix into making her a declaration of undying devotion, thereby maddening her niece with jealousy, and ends by a triumphant vindication of her own character and making everybody happy. In effect, the play—although it is better written than most of them, and more or less maintains a distinctly southern atmosphere—is simply a return to the old type of "prodigy" drama familiar in the theatre for several generations. But it keeps Mrs. Fiske in the centre of the stage and enables her to resume that mood of eccentric light comedy in which she won her earliest successes, and in which she has always been seen at her best. In such a character her chronic mannerisms of speech and gesture are less obtrusive and inappropriate, while her bright intelligence, mimetic cleverness, unflagging vivacity, and decisive execution have free scope. It is a pity that the play has not more genuine dramatic quality, either on the comic or serious side, for its prospects of endurance would thereby be greatly improved. The weight of it rests chiefly upon her shoulders and she bears it with notable adroitness and energy.

J. R. T.

Amusements

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Finance

Savings Depositors and the Liberty Loans

IMPORTANT benefits are likely to accrue from the decision of the savings banks to start a nation-wide campaign to popularize savings, to aid in the flotation of the Fifth Liberty Loan and to make loans upon Liberty Bonds as collateral. It is astonishing that the savings banks have not figured more prominently in this sort of lending, since they have ample authority in the present law to make loans upon United States Government bonds. At the time of the Fourth Liberty Loan canvass, the savings banks of Greater New York handled $108,663,000 subscriptions from their patrons on the partial payment plan.

This is the sort of business of which the savings banks ought to make a specialty. It is gratifying, therefore, to learn that the committe of savings bank officers are preparing to have an even greater share in the campaign to place the Fifth Liberty Loan with genuine investors. It is humiliating to think that many small investors are actually paying pawn-brokers 3 per cent. a month for loans upon the security of United States Government bonds. They did this out of ignorance and largely because the savings banks have not made known their willingness to accommodate their patrons in this way. The savings banks can also serve their country well by taking measures to

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caution their depositors against their dangerous tendency to yield to the specious representations of fraudulent promoters and exchange their Liberty Bonds for highly speculative securities—to use no stronger term—in the usually delusive hope of an abnormally high income return. In nearly all such cases, it is needless to say, those who make this exchange encounter grievous losses, so that the aggregate results have been distressing.

It is necessary that the savings banks of this and other cities should adopt measures to push the thrift campaign after the Liberty Loan offerings end and the war savings certificate issues are wound up. The increase in savings deposits reported by the savings banks of Greater New York has been $102,500,000 since November 1. It is believed that much of this gain represented the return of hoarded money to the banks. This movement set in as soon as the armistice was signed and was natural in view of the fears entertained in many quarters as to the huge financial losses which the war would entail. About 75 per cent. of the total funds held by savings banks of this State are on the books of the Greater New York institutions. Greater New York savings deposits exceeded those reported by all the savings banks of Massachusetts by $500,000,000. Savings banks of New York city alone have 2,307,042 accounts, which is a remarkable showing, when it is considered that this total is within 179,392 as many as are reported by all the savings banks of Massachusetts.

It would be in many ways fortunate if the New York State savings bank law could be amended so as to permit the opening of savings bank branches in the tenement house districts. For years past there have been heavy losses sustained by foreign residents on the East side who in their ignorance placed their savings with private bankers, many of whom were unscrupulous, or untrustworthy. Had these foreigners had a branch savings bank close at hand, they would have been saved heavy losses, and a huge economic waste would have been avoided for the country at large.

It is evident that the flotation of the various Liberty Loan issues has been helpful in bringing the savings bank closer to the people. This service will be greatly enhanced if it is extended at once to provide adequate lending facilities for the thousands of holders of $50 and $100 Liberty Bonds, who are constantly forced to obtain loans upon their little investments. It is to be hoped that the New York city savings banks will take immediate measures to advise the public of their willingness to make such loans and that they will place these facilities at the command of all Liberty Bond holders, irrespective of their previous business dealings with the lending institutions. The Federal Reserve Board in its recent bulletin emphasized the necessity of continuing every form of private economy in order to enable the nation to build up a sufficient credit reserve fund to make it possible for it to finance the enormous advances which must be made to foreign purchasers of American produce and merchandise. If these credits are not offered, it will be impossible for foreign markets to make the large purchases in the United States which otherwise they would be glad to make and without which our foreign trade expansion must be checked.

WILLIAM JUSTUS BOIES

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Patton, Julia. The English Village: A Literary Study, 1750-1850. Macmillan. $1.50.

Pierce, F. E. Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation. Yale University Press. $3.

Sedgwick, Henry D. Dante. Yale University Press. $1.50.

BOOKS OF VERSE

Shipman, Clare. Seven Stars. San Francisco: John J. Newbegin.

Tucker, Irwin St. John. The Chosen Nation. Chicago: The Author.

FICTION

Kaye-Smith, Sheila. The Challenge to Sirius. Dutton. $1.90.

Walpole, Hugh. The Secret City. Doran. $1.60.

Young, Francis Brett. The Crescent Moon. Dutton. $1.75.

THE ARTS

Leon, P. La Renaissance des Ruines. Paris: H. Laurens. $1.25.

Murray, F. H. M. Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture. Washington: Murray Bros.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Johannet, R. Le Principe des Nationalites. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale. $2.75.

Lambert, Henri. Pax Ecomonica. Third edition. Boston: International Free Trade League. 75 cts.

Leitch, John. Man to Man: The Story of Industrial Democracy. New York: B. C. Forbes Co. $2.

McLaughlin, Andrew C. America and Britain. Dutton. $2.

Orman, Felix. A Vital Need of the Times. New York: The Author.

Osusky, S., and Chopin, J. Magyars et Pangermanistes. Paris: Editions Boassrs. 95 cts.

Vincent, A. Les Instituteurs et la Democratie. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale. 65 cts.

Wile, Frederick W. Explaining the Britishers. Doran. $1.

Willoughby, William F. The Movement for Budgetary Reform in the States. Appleton. $2.75.

Willoughby, William F. The Problem of a National Budget. Appleton. $2.75.

THE WAR

Black, Elizabeth W. Hospital Heroes. Scribners. $1.35.

Cowing, K. F., and Cooper, C. R., editors. "Dear Folks at Home." Houghton. $2.

Gill, C. C. Naval Power in the War. Doran. $1.50.

Gourko, Basil. War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-1917. Macmillan. $4.

Smith, Munroe, and Scott, James B., editors. The Disclosures from Germany. New York: American Association for International Conciliation.

Vosnjak, B. A Bulwark against Germany. Revell. $1.50.

Wheeler, W. Reginald. China and the World War. Macmillan. $1.75.

EDUCATION

DePaeuw, Leon. The Vocational Re-Education of Maimed Soldiers. Princeton University Press. $1.50.

Friedel, V. H. The German School as a War Nursery. Macmillan. $1.30.

Webster's New Handy Dictionary. American Book Co. 32 cts.

Shelton, William H. The Salmagundi Club. Houghton Mifflin. $5.

MISCELLANEOUS

Abbott, Wilbur C. Colonel John Scott of Long Island. Yale University Press.

Bassett, William R. Accounting as an Aid to Business Profits. A. W. Shaw Co. $5.

Chapman, F. M. Our Winter Birds. Appleton. $1.

Cobb, Irvin S. Eating in Two or Three Languages. Doran. 60 cts.

Dana, E. S., editor. A Century of Science in America. Yale University Press. $4.

Foster, Mattie K. Dream Life for Children. Four Seas Co. $1.25.

Griffin, Grace G. Writings on American History, 1916. Yale University Press.

Jacomb, W. J. Practical Self-Defence. Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger.

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